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ABSTRACT

This is the first of a series of working papers and reports on aspects of modern American families. It investigates the issues and problems facing families with preschool children, when both of the parents are employed. The composite portrait of family styles within a sample of 14 young families begins with a project history. The literature is reviewed, the inception of the project described, and the research design presented. To discover how individuals view their families and relate to them, five research instruments, all appended, were developed: interviews; daily logs; demographic forms; observation instructions; and participant observations. The following chapters each deal with an aspect of one of the series of transformations initiated in the organization of the home by the wife's working. These include allocation of child care and household responsibilities; nonparental child care; pressures, motivations, and satisfactions of parenting in dual-working families; and the coordination of home and work. It was generally concluded that the effects of maintaining primary control over child care are widespread in the family system, that the consequences of the decision of the wife to work extend to the relations between the spouses, and that an image of the irritable wife and mother was one response of the working mother who accepts all cultural expectations without awareness of the psychological strain this induces. Also appended are staff autobiographies, an informed consent document, and coding topics. (Author/KSM)

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FINAL REPORT

PHASE ONE

Work and Family Life

National Institute of Education Project No. 3-3094

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NOTE

Please do not quote without consulting the authors. This is a report on the first year of what will be a three year project. There will be later publications from these materials.

Introduction

Many books and articles have appeared in recent years claiming to diagnose the current state of the family. In these days of swift and pervasive change in every institution in society, perhaps it is not surprising that so many of these interpretations are pessimistic and gloomy. The family is blamed for the alienation of the young, the emasculation of the male, the imprisonment of the female, and the systematic misshaping of children. This study is not a contribution to that literature. It neither praises nor blames the family; indeed it suggests that facile generalizations about the family in American society can seriously blur our appreciation of individual adaptations and creative solutions to the pressures and problems of modern life.

A story told by the Persian Sufis illustrates some of the pitfalls of sweeping, but one-sided conclusions. One day, Mulla Nasruddin, the wise man fool of traditional Sufi lore, walked into a shop. The owner came forward to serve him.

> "First things first," said the Mulla, "did you see me walk into your shop?"
>
> "Of course," replied the shopkeeper.
>
> "Have you ever seen me before?"
>
> "Never in my life."
>
> "Then how," responded the Mulla, "do you know it is me?"

The anecdote points out how easy it is to substitute our own assumptions about what "must" be true, for a clear look at how things

really are. We can often get by with seeing what "everyone else" sees, and do quite well; but sometimes it is useful to take a much closer look at the familiar world around us. The story cautions us not to take reality for granted -- we may need to look beyond the accepted or "obvious." This study, concerned as it is with certain kinds of families and their lives in modern America is an attempt to get beyond the easy generalization. It focuses in some detail on the daily lives of a small number of families. Our intention is less to "explain" them, than, through careful description, to see the changes that guide them and the solutions they have worked out to the daily tasks of raising children and earning a living. We too will generalize, but from case material which, however sketchily, conveys some of the day-to-day lived realities facing these families.

This is the first of a series of working papers and reports on aspects of modern American families. It investigates the issues and problems facing families with preschool children, when both of the parents are employed. Such families form a large and rapidly growing group in American society in the 1970's. (See Chapters on Work and Household Tasks for demographic information on this group.) The fourteen families who participated in this study are generally young, in the middle income range, and live in and around a large metropolitan region in the Northeast. This report examines in some detail the special problems and pressures of such "dual-work" families.

We are using the term "dual work" to indicate families in which both husband and wife are employed in some capacity in the

labor force. Despite its awkwardness, we use the term "dual work" in preference to "dual career" (Rapaport and Rapoport, 1972) since in several of our families, husbands and wives are working part or full time, but are not involved in a 'career' where position and advancement are more closely tied to cumulative and continuous training and work experience. In that sense, the two husbands in the sample who are full time students are preparing for "careers" rather than "work."

We recognize, of course, that many women who are not employed work very hard indeed in the role as housewife and mother. By adopting the terminology we do, we subtly suggest that only paid employment is "work." That is not our intent. Some of the stresses that arise when the woman attempts to combine outside employment with satisfactory performance of her more traditional work role are discussed in the chapter on pressures on working parents. We might better have spoken of "dual out-of-house paid employment work families," but that, obviously, is very cumbersome. We have regretably adopted more conventional terminology.

Members of the research team came from a variety of backgrounds in social sciences and policy studies. We shared a dissatisfaction with available information on parental attitudes toward and use of day care. We felt the need for more detailed materials on the problems facing families with two working parents, and the creative solutions they find. We decided that only a series of intensive interviews and at-home observations among the families themselves could begin to uncover the diversity of families' responses.

Although 'average' in a demographic sense, each participating family is unique in its particularities of judgment, decision and adaptation. The project staff felt, rather like the Mulla, that a sympathetic scrutiny of the particular was a necessary preface to any kind of generalization. First things first.

The nuclear family (and by that, we mean the group of mother, father, and children, who live together as a social and economic unit) in industrial societies has often been regarded as a kind of psychosocial enclave. Social scientists have shown how the family acts as a buffer against the impersonal demands of giant institutions and the market place. Within the family, the adult can still exercise some control and express himself (or herself) creatively. In a fragmented and mutable society, it is the family which supplies that ordering framework for the individual within which his or her life makes sense. Popular articles and discussions on the modern family have generally presented an image of the isolated nuclear family in urban society, cast adrift on its own resources and compelled to fend for itself. Recent research (Bott, 1972 and Firth, 1972 are excellent examples) has considerably moderated that image; social scientists and policy makers are increasingly aware that urban families draw upon the resources of kin, neighbors and friendship networks. There remains the truth--or truism--that the clash of traditional expectations with current demands has strained the psychological as well as economic resources of a great many American families.

This report presents a composite portrait of family styles within our small sample. The normal pressures of work and raising children bear with special heaviness on these families. Because both parents are working, considerable ingenuity goes into the juggling of schedules and the allocation of responsibilities for child care and household chores. Time and again the project staff was impressed with their resourcefulness and their ability to coordinate time and energy to be good husbands and fathers and wives and mothers.

In a number of cases in our sample, the wife's working seems to initiate a series of transformations in the organization of the home. Her employment may affect the traditional division of roles and expectations between husband and wife. The relationship between the wife's working and spouse roles is quite complex and this report provides only an introduction for future research. There are many threads to unravel. The wife's work, or the husband's for that matter, may cause shifts in the daily schedule of the family, affecting the amount of time either parent can spent with the children, and the time they can share with each other. These issues of scheduling, as well as ones of economics and family budgeting, are very important in deciding on the type and extent of child care arrangements. Because of these changes, the husband may find himself taking a larger part in housework or child care. The responses to these changes and their new pressures are diverse, even within our small sample.

Each of the chapters that follows deals with an aspect of these transformations. Sometimes the divisions of the discussion by the various chapter headings may seem forced and artificial. We, who as a project staff have been in close touch with these families for over a year, are acutely aware of the significant omissions and shortcomings of our presentation. We are aware of how easy it is to distort the lived experience of a family reality for the sake of making a point or using an illustration. Still, we have made very effort to use quotations and anecdotes within the context of each family's own reality as we, however imperfectly, have known it.

The changes these families are experiencing raise fundamental issues for contemporary marriage and family life. They involve deep patterns of behavior and psychological expectation that lie at the heart of our culture. Such periods of transition are not easy. The man is no longer the sole breadwinner for his family, and strains may arise when he discovers that his wife expects him to take a more active part in the daily tasks of household management and child care. The working mother must meet new responsibilities and demands on her time and energy. In addition to her considerable unpaid labor in the home in the "traditional" role of wife and mother, she is also employed. The attempt to strike a balance between the demands of work at home and on the job can put the working mother under emotional strain. For both spouses, we might expect a certain degree of extra psychological 'work", to the extent that their experiences of significant changes in mutual duties and

expectations may move against the cultural stereotypes and attitudes of friends and relatives. The chapters on parental pressures and on work and home life demonstrate the nature and extent of such external pressures.

From the evidence of our sample, families respond in differing ways to this challenge to traditional roles. Some couples share an articulated ideology, a set of convictions about the need for more sharing of tasks and responsibilities between the sexes. Others feel more comfortable with a more traditional distinction between "men's work" and "women's work". Yet this very distinction, and the notion of "traditional division of roles" becomes problematic upon investigation. Although some of the families characterized themselves as in some ways more traditional there seemed to be a considerable spread in the actual division of labor among this sub-group. An important area for future research might be to look much more closely at these shared images of "traditional families", where they come from and how resistant they are to change. Sometimes, the changes in mutual expectation are accompanied by unacknowledged discontent, in other cases, the spouses appear to be working out a mutually satisfying accomodation. A couple of the research families illustrate the resentment that can arise when one partner refuses to acknowledge the others feeling that a more equitable division of responsibilities is necessary. Nevertheless, in most of our families in which a shift out of traditional roles has begun, both partners are involved. Women are discovering that indeed it is possible to be a working mother.

Men are finding, sometimes with astonishment, that a more active role in the daily tasks of child rearing can be enjoyable and fulfilling.

In the chapters that follow, we look at some of the areas of family life that are affected when the woman begins to work. Clearly the topics covered are neither exhaustive not mutually exclusive. But they should focus attention and provide a spring board for further research on the challenges and problems facing other dual work families.

Project History

This chapter is a discussion of the progress of our research over the past year. We explain the origins of the project, the issues around which the reserach was oriented and the decisions we made about what to study and how to study it.

I. Introduction to the Research Problem

There have been a number of studies of families and children in America from many points of view. We will mention a few here to illustrate the variety of studies and the need we saw for our own research.

There have been studies of families with problems, particularly studies designed as an exploration of how a particular problem developed. In Pathways to Madness (1965) Henry examines families with children suffering from severe emotional disorders. Henry visited each family for one or two weeks and analyzed them as case studies in destructive communication among family members. Mischler and Waxler's work (1968) is a study of communication in families with schizophrenic children. Both these studies concentrated on communication within the family.

With some exceptions most other studies of families have concentrated on families at one end or the other of the economic spectrum. Howell's work (Hard Living on Clay Street, 1973) is an ethnographic description of two poverty families in Washington, D.C. Works by Gans (1962), Lewis (1961), and Coles (1962) all deal

with poverty families. Holmstrom's work (1972) on the other hand is a study of professsional families.

There have been several community studies which included a study of American families with children. Such works as Elmtown's Youth (Hollingshead, 1949), Middletown (Lynd and Lynd, 1929) and Orchard Town (Fischer and Fischer, 1962) are representative of these community studies. Elmtown's Youth is a study of community social structure. Orchard Town concentrates on child rearing. Each of these studies is an ethnography focussed on a specific aspect of home and community life.

Among all these studies, there is little written on middle income families in large urban areas. The most intensive, detailed studies of families are concentrated on families with a defined psychological problem or an economic status some distance from the national norm. Finally, there is little interdisciplinary work on American families. The works mentioned above were authored by one or two researchers. We felt the need of an intensive study of middle income American families with a broader scope, exploring the relationships among such variables as communication in the family, involvement in the community social structure, work, child raising, satisfaction and anxiety. There are detailed studies of these topics, but there are few attempts to relate them to each other. Painting a detailed picture of a small number of families seemed to us to require an interdisciplinary team. We needed a variety of research tools and a variety of points of view to cover the range of issues.

Considerable recent work (Jencks, 1972; Coleman, 1965; and White, 1973 among others) discusses the importance of home life to both the cognitive and social development of the child. However, Jencks and Coleman demonstrate the importance of the family by default. They show that factors such as school resources do not account for much variation in children's performance at school. Therefore, they say, the family must be an important deciding factor. Yet we do not know in detail the aspirations of parents for their children, the qualities they wish to develop in them, or the factors which hinder them in bringing up their children according to these goals.

Several research efforts suggest new approaches to the study of the family. Kohn (1969) explores the relationship between socio-economic status and parental values and child rearing practices. Hess and Handel (1959) bring a combination of open-ended interview and psychological tests to the study of what they call the "psychosocial interior of the family." Newson and Newson (1969) have written an ethnography of childhood.

Several British family studies also suggest models for research on families. The London studies of Young et. al. (1957) examine the effect of kin, neighbors and government institutions on the operation of the family. Bott (Family and Social Network, 1957) demonstrates the potential of a network approach to family and community studies through the use of intensive interviews with husbands and wives. Among more recent works, The Symmetrical Family (Young and Willmott, 1973) analyzes survey data on English families

from an historical persnective, and in Families and Their Relatives (Firth, et. al., 1970) applies the methods of traditional anthropology to the study of urban family and kinship.

Other researchers have called for an increasingly detailed study of the American family. Alice Rossi in 'Transition to Parenthood" (1968) explains the need for continued research on parenting. Matina Horner in an interview called for an interdisciplinary study

> "I think the whole question of family and family structure is very complex. It involves psychology as well as economics and any number of terribly relevant disciplines. The nature of the family and its changing structures and the relationship of the individuals to each other has never really been studied in an interdisciplinary way that would give people a realistic perception of what's going on. Sociologists have studied the family separately, some educators have looked at how different kinds of family arrangements have an effect on education, but I don't think we've ever taken a full-fledged interdisciplinary tackle on this crucial question in our society." (1973)

2. Project Inception

During the year 1972-1973 Laura Lein was a consultant to the Carnegie Foundation-funded Child Rearing Alternatives project directed by Mary Jo Bane and Christopher Jencks. In the course of reviewing the social science literature about child rearing and family issues in the United States, she began to understand some of the limitations of current data and theory on these subjects and began generating ideas for the present intensive research on a small number of families.

Lein suggested that research be conducted under the auspices of the Child Rearing project. The research would be an intensive study of a small sample of families in the Boston area. This was not feasible for the Child Rearing project, but Lein was encouraged to write a proposal for a separate research project, which was funded by the National Institute of Education in June, 1973 and begun in September, 1973. Lein proposed to explore families' daily activities in the context of their ideology about family life, their aspirations for the future, their attitudes towards children, their feelings about themselves as spouses and parents, and the communities in which they lived and worked.

With the guarantee of funding Lein needed to organize an interdisciplinary research team. The team members were graduate students and most of the researchers had known at least some of the other research team members for some time. The current research team includes:

Laura Lein: Ph.D. in social anthropology, Harvard University, research associate at the Center for the Study of Public Policy.

Maureen Durham: Graduate student in human development, University of Chicago, working as clinical psychologist.

Michael Pratt: Graduate student in child psychology, School of Education, Harvard University.

Michael Schudson: Graduate student in sociology, Harvard University.

Ronald Thomas: Graduate student in social anthropology, Harvard University.

Heather Weiss: Graduate student in social policy, School of Education, Harvard University.

3. Designing the Research

We began the substantive work on the research project with energy and naivete. According to excerpts from notes of the first organizational meetings, in the first three months of work we hoped to:

1. Decide sample parameters and begin locating families to participate in the research.
2. Draft an inter-disciplinary methodology.
3. Establish a division of labor among research staff.
4. Outline a literature review to be undertaken by the research staff.
5. Draft a number of research hypotheses.

We gradually discovered how ambitious these original goals were. Before beginning these tasks, we needed to more clearly define and commonly agree on a focus for our research. We hoped to produce a detailed description of the internal workings of a variety of American families and we were particularly interested in how American families care for and bring up their children. We were interested in families where both parents work.

Our first struggles with research hypotheses left us exhausted and confused. We were confident neither of the validity nor the significance of our first hypotheses. We hypothesized, for instance, that in two-parent families where both parents worked, there would be less negotiation between parents and children than in families where only one parent worked. Because parents and children spent less time together, either there would be hard and fast rules or

the child would be allowed a considerable range of choice. Such hypotheses seemed doubtful to us on two counts. They were comparative, and we were particularly interested in figuring out the internal dynamcis of each family. Also, we had no reason to believe that the issues we were hypothesizing about were particularly crucial to an understanding of families. We decided to work for a time in the framework of our more general goals.

The problems involved in determining and selecting a sample of families forced us to re-evaluate our initial goals for both theoretical and practical reasons. We wanted to study families in some sense representative of the American population and also to explore the interesting, idiosyncratic adaptations of individual families. In order to reconcile these two research demands we decided to chose families which might be considered representative according to demographic criteria and then study them intensively.

We were interested in families facing a variety of specific pressures: care of young children, economic exigencies, isolation and mobility, and two parent employment. Because of this interest in the care and raising of young children, we decided to choose families with at least one preschool child. We also felt there is a dearth of studies about middle income families. We felt that the pressures faced by this category of family, particularly during a period of inflation, are intensified by the options closed to them. Unlike families on welfare, there is no child-care subsidy available to them. On the other hand, unlike most professional families, these families cannot easily afford such mother substitutes

as a house-keeper or all-day babysitter. Therefore we wanted to study families whose income fell within several thousand dollars of the national mean 10,955 (U.S. Census, 1970).

In our search for a sample we first reasoned that if both parents are working outside the home, their children are probably cared for at least part of the time in day care and nursery schools. We began a long round of visits to child care institutions in the Metropolitan area. We explained the point of our research and described our criteria for research families. At almost every center we were eventually told that although they would be happy to help us locate families either no family or very few families using the center met our selection criteria. Child care centers caring for children more than two-three hours per day seem to serve mostly single parent families, subsidized poverty families and professional families, and we found that there are long waiting lists at most child care centers. In general, we found that there was a shortage of child care placements and in particular that the families we were interested in did not often use organized child care. Several of the centers explained to us that they had received requests from middle income families, but these families felt they could not afford the program.

We broadened our search and located families through a number of contacts, including schools, churches, work associations, and neighborhood play groups. Then we began to take advantage of one particularly valuable resource. We asked families if they would introduce us to other families like themselves. We began to develop

a sample composed of groups of two or three families that had some contact with each other.

We began simultaneously to develop a research methodology, starting from a few general considerations. We were not working with a large number of families. We would concentrate on a detailed view of individual families. Our study was not designed to achieve statistical validity. We did not believe enough was presently known about urban American families to warrant other than a first exploratory step to isolate the important problems and variables. For our purposes no one research tool would be adequate in itself, so we worked to design several research tools to give us different, although co-ordinated, kinds of information about families, to explore both what happens in families and how members of families feel. Specifically, we need to discover how individuals view their families and relate to them. We wished to understand daily interaction in families. We needed straightforward data concerning family finances and background. In order to accomplish these goals we developed five research instruments:

1. Intensive Interviews (Appendix A): We planned to talk extensively with parents about their plans and activities, their background and their aspirations, so we began to develop a series of questions to be the basis of several intensive interviews. As we wrote questions it became apparent that it would be most appropriate to ask some questions of the mother and father each alone, for instance questions about their own childhood and their perceptions of each other. Interviews with each parent alone would

be designed to elicit each individual's perception of family life as well as life history leading up to current attitudes and family and other social and institutional ties. In an interview with husband and wife together it is too easy to misunderstand or ignore the differences in their points of view. However, in addition to the separate interviews we needed another interview to consolidate our information on the couples' past history and their views of family life. Also, there were questions it seemed more profitable to deal with in a discussion with both spouses present. Such questions concerned past housing and child care, arrangement of work and home time, and interaction between parents and children. Because we hoped to use an interview with the couple together to explore contradictions and inconsistencies that emerged during the interviews with each of them, we decided that the interviews with husband and wife alone should precede the interview with the couple together. We also decided that women would interview wives and men would interview husbands. The male and female interviewers would both be present at the joint interview.

Formulating the interviews was very much a group process. Drafts of interview schedules were circulated and re-circulated. Finally, we asked one family to allow us to try out our research tools with them. This first attempt led to another round of re-writes of the interview. The interview schedule, like most of the research tools, was never completely finished. In interviews with families a new topic would surface which we had not thought about previously. After consideration, this might be included in the

interview schedule. Frequently, the interview with each parent alone would pinpoint an issue of particular importance to a family and the joint interview might be re-written for that family to include probes on that issue.

Interviews took a long time. Because the families we studied were very busy we did not want to do a large number of interviews. However, we did want to cover a lot of matieral, and we wanted to give families the opportunity to volunteer information and to expand on their answers. The interviews, which we had hoped would last an hour to an hour and a half, usually lasted two to two and a half hours.

Each interview was taped. Because of the complexity of the interview schedule and because researchers wanted to probe intelligently on issues raised by the family, the researchers agreed that they did not want to be writing detailed notes for the duration of the interview. Taping has important drawbacks, however. Each interview tape -- all two hours or so -- had to be transcribed. Debate about transcription centered on two issues -- who would do the transcription and how close to exact wording did the transcript have to be. After a few trials we agreed that each researcher should transcribe their own work. This proved to be a tedious and difficult task, made more so by our decision that transcriptions should be reasonably exact, never assuming a summary form. It was necessary to allow four or five hours of transcription time, at a minimum, for each hour of tape. In general, scheduling an interview, planning it, giving it and transcribing it required at least two full working days.

During the past year we considered developing interviews to be used with children. We were always convinced that an important perspective was omitted because we did not have detailed conversations with children about their perceptions of family life. Two related considerations kept us from designing and implementing such interviews. First of all, there is virtually no information available on interviews with young children, and we simply didn't know where to start. Second, we suspected that parents would be extremely sensitive about researchers interviewing their children concerning their home and their parents. We did not overcome these difficulties, although we do not feel they are insurmountable, and to date we have not interviewed children. In the future we intend to develop interview schedules to be used with children.

2. Daily Logs (Appendix B): We were fascinated by the network studies of Bott, et. al. and we were particularly interested in determining the social networks of the families we studied. The daily log was originally conceived of as a tool to elicit a running account of family interactions with people outside the family. We also had a secondary purpose in mind. We wished to learn about the allocation of time inside the home, so we hoped that in addition to recording their social contacts, families would also keep a running account of how they allocated their leisure, chores, child care and work outside the home. As we tried filling out the daily logs ourselves, it became clear that we were hoping for too much. Families could not be expected to perform this time-consuming and

tedious task, particularly since it would be so complicated that the results would probably be questionable.

We decided that daily logs were not a good way of finding out about time allocation in the home. For instance, what would a woman write down to describe the time when she was holding her baby in one arm, stirring soup on the stove and watching television all at one time? Given that parents could not continually interrupt their activities to write down what they were doing, how could they remember at the end of the day just how long had been spent washing dishes, discounting the time out spent reading a story to the children?

We decided on a more limited single-purpose instrument. We planned a seven-day log during which parents would record their social contacts when they left the house, had visitors or used the telephone. This tool helped us understand the detail of daily interaction in some families. For instance, we discovered through a log that one family was involved in an informal babysitting exchange that they had not described to us during the interview. However, even the more limited version was clearly difficult for busy families to deal with and often families apologized for the incompleteness of the log. We also learned that it is difficult for husbands and wives to have only one form to record their quite different activities. In the future we would use a still simpler, more limited form and give one to the wife and one to the husband.

3. Demographic Forms (Appendix C): The demographic forms, like the interview schedules, expanded during the research process. They were initially planned to elicit basic information about the background of both parents and a brief blue-print of the allocation of household and child care chores. We decided not to ask financial information, feeling that this was somewhat tangential to our study and a very sensitive issue. However, families continually emphasized the importance of financial considerations in the decisions they made. Families explained in detail how decisions concerning home location, work, child care and future aspirations were related to finances. And as we looked at our data, at least some of the research team began to feel that this area was too important to be by-passed. Financial considerations affected too many other aspects of family life. Under these pressures, we began to ask for systematic information on finances and to include that in our analysis.

We provided families with check lists, asking them to check off who in the family was responsible for each of a number of chores. One woman pointed out to us preconceptions in these forms and in so doing forced us to reexamine some of the rest of our research design. Why, she asked, were household and child care checklists only attached to the woman's demographic form? This implied it was the wife's responsibility to know who was to do all chores. Also, she pointed out, we had omitted chores usually conceived of as woman's work from the list: where, for instance, was the mending of clothing? By not including some chores usually done by women, we would get a

skewed view of the organization of household tasks. Also, other families noted, we were missing some important, time consuming chores: car repair, home repair, gardening. We needed to reconsider both the specific forms criticized and our other research instruments in the light of such comment.

We realized that the question, who is responsible, is an ambiguous one. One parent might be responsible for seeing that a chore gets done, but the children actually do the chore a lot of the time. Finally, husbands and wives have different perceptions of who is responsible for chores and who does them most of the time. We decided that in the future each spouse needs to fill out a check list and then discuss it with an interviewer.

4. Observations (Appendix D): During interviews, family members would characterize their interactions with each other and with outsiders, explaining what kinds of interaction they feel are beneficial and satisfying and what kinds are harmful? We wanted to relate peoples' descriptions of and feelings about their interactions with others to a detailed analysis of that interaction, as well as to the daily organization of their time, and other variables. Therefore, we would record samples of interaction. Not all of what happens in families is verbal interaction. Therefore, we would also study activities and gestures.

Because we were particularly interested in exploring the different styles of interaction used by different members of the family, we tried to observe each family when the father was home with the children, when the mother was home with the children, and when both

parents were home with the children. We also tried to observe at times the family felt were important, dinner time, bedtime or afternoon playtime, for instance.

However, the first observers reported that it was nearly impossible to record all interaction or all activity in the home, even for a short time. Recording both was out of the question. We needed to determine more specifically what it was we were looking for and look for it -- not try to cover all fronts.

Both families and researchers were often uneasy and uncomfortable during observation periods. It was difficult to explain the purposes of the observations to families, because we did not know ourselves. From the beginning we made three one hour observations in each family. We were operating on an intuition that observational material would prove important as an added dimension to interview materials. We are still exploring problems and insights related to home observations.

There were other more pragmatic difficulties with observations. Because American homes are enclosed and private, an observer cannot stand unobtrusively outside to observe what happens in the family. Neither can the observer enter the home without affecting the quality of the family interaction. Because observations cause research families some anxiety and because we were uncertain of what we could achieve through observation, we limited the number of observations made in each family. Without a large number of observations, it is often hard to determine which material is meaningful and important.

We knew families had good days and bad days, and we were never quite sure what we were seeing. Families explained to us that not only might we be seeing them during special moods or occasions, but that they felt our presence in the household changed what happened. We were not seeing family interaction as it normally occurred; we were seeing it as it occurred with an observer present. On the other hand, we knew we were learning a great deal from observations.

When we sat down to detail what it was we learned, we pinpointed two kinds of information. We were finding out about kinds of occurrences were so regular and so much a part of the fabric of family life that families forgot to tell us about them. For instance, in one family we learned from the interview that the wife talked with the neighbors every day or two. We learned during an observation that they called back and forth through the window many times a day, a fact that had not been considered worth mentioning.

Second, we learned what value family members put on different kinds of interaction and what they meant when they described different kinds of interaction. A mother might tell us that she had trouble with her son, because he was smart-alecky. During an observation, when she told him to stop being such a smart-aleck, we understood what she meant and what was bothering her about the child's behavior.

We began to concentrate on collecting a sample of family interaction for two reasons. We wanted to learn about those kinds of interaction so automatic in families that they never described them

to us. We wanted to document interaction, so we would know what people were talking about when we discussed the quality of interaction with them.

Although it has become a useful and exciting part of our research, the purposes and the means of observation have remained an issue. They have also become the one task that some members of the research team have never wanted to try. As with interviews, we concluded that each observer would be responsible for the initial processing of the data collected. Upon trial and consideration we decided not to tape record during observations. There was sufficient noise and movement to make tapes very difficult to work with. Instead, records were kept by the observer who then wrote out a set of detailed notes as soon as possible after the observation. As with transcription, this process was tedious and time-consuming.

5. Participant Observation: We originally planned to visit neighborhoods, playgrounds, local organziations and churches in an effort to become familiar with the context in which families lived. As we worked with our first research families, we realized that participant observation -- in the neighborhood -- was not going to be very productive, particularly in winter. After our first visits we realized that few of the families lived in neighborhoods where people spend a lot of time on the street. Most significant interactions and activities took place in someone's home or in some other place where a family member spent a great deal of time. We decided to omit general participation in the neighborhood and concentrate on observation in the home.

4. Meeting Families and Beginning the Research

With each family we followed the research schedule below:

Initial visit

Interview with wife

Observation

Interview with husband

Observation

Joint Interview

Observation -- One observation might be in day care or nursery.

During the initial visit families were provided with a written description of the research and brief autobiographies of the research staff (Appendix E). Members of families would be giving us a great deal of personal information about themselves. We thought this process would be easier if they also knew something about us. A researcher explained the project, and the family was provided with a consent form (Appendix F). We asked the family to think it over, and if they decided to participate, to sign the consent form and send it to us. After receiving the consent form, we would then begin the substantive part of the research process.

In our early effort to get the research project underway, we were anxious to encourage and respond to feedback from families. But at the beginning, we did not realize how significant this would be to the research itself. Many valuable suggestions came from the research families concerning the design and implementation of research tools. Insights from families and their expressed difficulties in participating in the research led to new ideas, new points of view and new data collection instruments.

In planning our material, we did not allow sufficiently for essential aspects of a trusting relationship: time and testing. The fact that we had a coherent plan for the protection of families (described in next two sections) was a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition. We could not simply present our guarantees. Families had to have time to think them over, discuss them with us, and pursue our plans for use of any information they felt to be particularly sensitive. As families continued questioning us about the goals of our research and the point of collecting different kinds of information, we learned to continue a discussion of the research process through most contacts with families.

In our contacts with families we increased the time allowed for them to ask questions and make comments about the research, thus providing us with a feedback mechanism about our research process. By the end of the research, we had included in the joint interview an explicit schedule of questions concerned with family members' reactions to the research process:

1. It would help us if you could say how you thought about our project. What did you like best about it? What did you like least?
2. How did you decide to participate in it? Did you ever think about dropping out of the project?
3. Did you talk about the project with friends or relatives? What did they think?
4. If you could advise us as we begin to work with another family, what would you tell us? What might you tell the

family? What kind of worries do you think they might have and what could we do about them?

We planned an extra trip to families to explain the research and answer questions and to establish personal contact with a project member. We left our telephone number and assured them they could always call project personnel with any questions. We agreed to present research results to families for their comments before reporting to anyone else.

As we continued the research, we learned that it is very easy to begin to consider families as single units when engaged in family-oriented research, and it is imperative to remember that families are groups of individuals. Explanations to one person do not constitute explanations to the family. Members of families complained explicitly when we assumed that an explanation or comment to one member was automatically transmitted to other members. The importance of this problem became clear as we started to recruit families. Husbands often had different concerns about participating in the research than did their wives, and we tended to make our initial contact with families through wives. We had to deal with all family members from our first contact, if at all possible. Then as we reviewed our research tools, we had to keep in mind that a question on the wife or husband interview elicits one person's view only.

Finally, we learned to pay special attention to incidental occurrences at each visit: the interaction between parent and child during an interview, the comments made to us during an

observation. These were marked by a special spontaneity, since they were apart from the formal research process.

5. Data Processing and Research Findings

We developed ways for recording and storing data with two goals in mind -- to allow easy access to information and to remove immediately basic identifying materials about each family. Only one copy of all data, interview transcriptions, observations and demographic forms was stored in original form. Copies with identifying data such as names blanked out became the working materials of the research project.

Discussion and brain-storming sessions on the data we collected began as soon as the research did. After the first several visits to each family all members of the research staff who had met that family would sit down to go over the data collected, to discuss the implications and to identify any weaknesses in it. In addition to regular staff meetings, there were brain-storming suggestions during which hypotheses were suggested and discussed, anecdotal data analyzed and attempts at writing case histories of families reviewed.

As we continued the research effort, we began to identify key questions and areas of interest. These tended to emerge in two ways. In some cases families identified a principle issue for us, bringing it forcibly to our attention and announcing its importance for themselves. In other cases, each family reported a similar phenomenon to us, and the report of the same feeling

or experience from all or almost all of our research families brought it to our attention.

At first, the data from the first families we talked with seemed unbearably detailed and confusing. During this time we floundered seeking insight into its meaning. As the data piled up and we began to catalogue it, exciting ideas emerged.

One family directed our attention to the distinction between task-sharing and role-sharing. When going over the checklists, the Parks explained that we were getting information on task sharing. We were finding out how the actual work was split. We were not eliciting the division of ultimate responsibility for the task or role: Did Mr. Park wash the dishes "just to help out," or because he really considered it his job? Did Mr. Park wash the dishes even if he was very tired or did he then assume his wife would do it? We began exploring the distinction between task-sharing and role-sharing with families we studied, and it turned out to be a provocative and important distinction to bring to bear on our data.

One important theme slowly emerged as we worked with a number of families. Most parents we talked to feel anxious about the quality of their parenting. Mothers particularly express doubts -- they compare themselves unfavorably with their husbands or neighbors. They say they are impatient or inconsistent or hasty. We began to explore this in relation to other factors.

In most families there was some tension about the wife's working. Sometimes disagreements over this issue emerged in open conversations. At other times they emerged through inconsistencies in the wife's

and husband's statements. We learned that wives' decisions to work were not easy.

As we became familiar with our data and gained insight into it, we began a two-part coding process. For our first level of analysis, we designed code sheets which enabled us to catalog in an organized fashion background data concerning each family. However, there still remained an extraordinary wealth of detail and description to work with. Because this is a new kind of research in urban studies, we wished to systematize our data without accepting the data loss inherent in most coding schemes. Therefore, we developed a system which allows us to catalogue our material into fourteen categories, and label each entry according to source and supporting document (Appendix G). For instance, in the "Child Care" category data might include:

N Family - 76d	MM came to help care for first child two weeks, starting with birth.
N Family - 77b	M disagrees with MM about child care.

The first entry would be listed in the N Family catalog. The mother's mother came to help Mrs. N care for her new-born first child. Details are located on page 76, last quadrant, of the raw data booklet from the N family.

6. The Report

As we went over our research findings we defined four areas of particular importance. These areas are covered in the four main chapters of this report:

Allocation of Child Care and Household Responsibility

Non-Parental Child Care

Pressures, Motivations and Satisfactions of Parenting in Dual-Working Families

Coordination of Home and Work

The first drafts of these chapters were returned to families and the current drafts include our attempts to respond to their many insightful comments.

Most husbands and wives read the report carefully. They often concentrated on a discussion of anecdotes, relating specific incidents to themselves or to families like them, and through our discussions they enabled us to understand better the importance of some of what we had been told or observed. Several families provided us with detailed critiques of the report as a whole. The current document represents an attempt to deal with this extensive feedback.

Allocation of Child Care and Household Responsibility

Introduction

This essay is about how the fourteen study couples arrange to do their household and child care tasks. It is important to look at this first, because although these tasks are by nature very routine and mundane, they are often time-consuming for a family. Second, while they are sometimes taken for granted they are not trivial; clean clothes, a shoveled sidewalk, a bedtime story and the other tasks involved in making a home and raising a family clearly play a major part in the quality of everyday family life. Finally, there are an infinite number of ways couples with and without working wives arrange these tasks, but in those with a working wife there is often pressure to re-adjust task arrangements. So at a time when more and more mothers are working it is useful to describe how families organize these tasks, the pressures for readjustments, and how the families feel about their particular arrangements.

Since 1940 there has been a steady increase in the number of women participating in the paid labor force, an increase most who study it describe as phenomenal and potentially far reaching in its effects on the way couples allocate home, child care and work duties.[1/] The most recent U.S. Department of Labor Current Population Survey statistics for March 1973 indicate there was one married woman in the labor force for every two married men. This steady increase of married working women is pointed up when the

1973 1:2 ratio is compared with previous ones: in 1963 the ratio was one married woman to 2.6 married men in the labor force and in 1953 it was 1:3.5. The labor force participation rate of married women with preschool children is also rising sharply. In March 1973, 32.7 percent of married women with preschool (under 6) children were in the paid labor force.[2/] This increase in the number of working wives is evidence that couples are sharing the role of breadwinning in supporting their families.

Reflecting on this increase in the number of working wives led economist Jacob Miner to expand the traditional economic dictum that men divide their time between paid work and leisure and women between unpaid housework and leisure into a new formulation recognizing that women divide their time among unpaid "homework,"[2/] paid "market work" and leisure. Mincer's reformulation, however, does not come to grips with the symmetrical change in men's expense of time: as married women go to work the pressure for couples to share unpaid homework as well as breadwinning duties increases. It is also interesting to note historians are now questioning the idea that so-called traditional families existed to any great extent in the past.[3/] A traditional family is defined as one in which work, homework and child care are divided on a strictly sexual basis with the father earning the money and the mother homemaking and caring for children. The evidence from these families suggests Mincer's formulation indeed has to be extended and we need to begin to explore the implications of married men spending time on home

and child care as well as of their wive's movement into the paid labor force.

The fourteen families in the present study are not traditional on two counts: the husbands and wives both work and to varying degrees share home and child care tasks. This essay explores the ways these couples divide home and child care tasks between themselves and tries to describe some of the pressures for and against different allocations. It should be noted at the outset that while some families are more "traditional" than others in that the wives do the majority of household and child care tasks, even in these the husbands help with some chores regularly and others in emergencies.

Mr. Wyatt, for example, is in the more traditional group, but he helps at supper and with his sons and he is very helpful in emergencies. As Mrs. Wyatt explained, "One time I had a sinus infection, I'll never forget it, I just stayed in bed for five days, asleep more than...awake...when I woke up and...was feeling better, I thought the house would look like a wreck. There weren't any dishes in the sink, the beds were made, the kids...he did stay home and he did very well." She feels she can really count on her husband when the chips are down as well as to help with errands and a few chores. But at the same time the Wyatts' situation exemplified the pressure to reallocate tasks when the wife begins working; Mrs. Wyatt would very much like more help with home and child care from her husband and the issue is far from resolved for them.

These families are grappling with very difficult personal and social pressures as they try to work out comfortable ways of dividing responsibility for work, home and children. However historians resolve the question about the ways families have divided these three broad task areas in the past, the contemporary belief in the existence and in some cases goodness of the "traditional" family pattern influences us all. To some degree or another we have all been socialized to the traditional sex roles where men work to support their families and women cook and care for children. It is difficult to change to new ways of defining men's and women's roles and sometimes to understand the forms resistance takes. As married women begin to share what are felt to be the man's role of family provider, it is not always clear how the total balance of work and so-called women's tasks of home and family should re-adjust themselves. A complete picture of the shifts in the ways men's and women's roles are defined then would require examination of how women react to sharing the work role and to work itself as well as the way men react to sharing and doing home and child care tasks. The essay on work and family roles elsewhere in the report examines these issues and the two of them taken together provide a picture, although perhaps an as yet inadequate one, of how couples feel about work as well as family responsibilities.

This essay begins with a discussion of the limits and results of the household and child care checklists. In general the checklists indicate husbands and wives tend to share more child care than household tasks and some possible reasons for this are suggested. Then individual family task allocation patterns are

examined and the checklist and interview results point to roughly three types of family allocational patterns: the more traditional ones where the wife tends to do most of the child care and household tasks, families in which they share child care but the woman does most housework, and those where many of both the child care and housework chores are shared. While there are three patterns, it will be immediately obvious that there is enormous variety among the families, no two share the duties the same way. The essay then goes on to describe the three types of families and some of the factors which seem to influence how they divide up the two kinds of family tasks.

The information about the various ways families divide tasks comes from the household and child care checklists and the single and joint interviews. Not all of these sources corroborate one another. For example, husbands and wives often disagree and in the majority of cases only one, usually the wife, filled out the checklists. There is another important problem with these sources of information which further limits the discussion of different task divisions. The different degrees of sharing tasks fall along a continuum but there are at least three distinguishable categories along it including occasional help with a chore or "helping out", sharing the responsibility for a discrete task, and the broader concept of sharing a role or joint responsibility for most home and/or child care tasks. These distinctions along the continuum are important because they clarify both where the ultimate responsibility for a task lies and the overall extent of the task sharing.

As one of the study families explained, there are enormous differences among families in which a husband occasionally helps his wife with the dishes but both believe it is her job, families where both take responsibility for the dishes and it is their job together or at different times, and those where the role of "home-maker" is shared and both take responsibility for many home-related tasks. But while our current information about the families does not allow us to classify them according to these distinctions or examine all their implications it does allow us to point them out and tentatively explore them.

Half of the families expressed dissatisfaction with their division of household and child care tasks. The essay's final section examines this and how the families deal with it.

In sum, the fourteen families are exemplary of the variety of ways dual worker families are trying to work out comfortable task assignments for themselves. We have been especially struck by the variety of arrangements, the difficulties and immensity of the changes involved for both husbands and wives when wives go to work, and by the resourcefulness and rewards of the families as they deal with often confusing and ambivalent personal and social expectations about the ways families should divide tasks.

General Division of Tasks According to the Checklists

Every family has many housekeeping and child care tasks and these are probably multiplied in those with preschool children

and working mothers. While the study families have preschool children in common they vary a great deal on other characteristics which affect the ease and amount of household and child care responsibilities so they do not all have the same amount of chores to do. Some, for example, live in apartments, others in houses, some have only one small child and others have several including older children who help out with chores. Some families have close friends or relatives to help with child care, others use child care or babysitters, and other couples arrange their work schedules so one takes care of the children while the other works. Three study women work full time and the others range from five or six hours daily to two or three hours three days a week. The families vary in the way they arrange work and home time. Some parents both work days and use child care while others arrange their work shifts so one parent is always home for child care. But whatever the combination of above factors, every family has numerous clothes to launder, dishes to wash, food to buy and prepare, repairs to make and bills and taxes to pay.

Limits of the Checklists: One of the main sources of information about the division of duties is the household and child care checklists which each family filled out. The information they provide is limited for several reasons. First, the checklists were attached to the wive's demographic forms until two of the families more oriented to role sharing pointed out that this automatically assumed the wives knew best about the division. Consequently, mid-way in the research this was changed and the couples filled out the checklists

together. Information from the interviews and these joint checklist sessions indicates couples do not always agree on who does what and how often. The fact that the women often filled them out may mean they reflect the women's view of things better than the man's. Second, the checklists provide only the grossest of measures because they do not take into account the frequency, time, or difficulty of the tasks. Third, as already pointed out, different families have different numbers of tasks and people to do them, so strictly speaking comparing chores for the Nelson family of nine children with the Sedman's with one is like comparing apples and oranges. And fourth, the checklists do not make the fundamental distinction between role and task sharing previously mentioned. So when a wife for example checked that she and her husband share bathing a child it is not clear whether this means he occasionally helps her with her job or that they share the bathing responsibility together. Nonetheless, a tally of the checklists indicates some interesting patterns and is a good way to initiate the discussion of the division of tasks as long as the lists' limitations are kept in mind.

Housekeeping Tasks: The results from the housekeeping checklists presented in Table 1 below show that women do the majority of the housekeeping jobs with the exception of garbage removal. This is confirmed by a comparison of columns 1 (husband) and 2 (husband and wife shared) with 3 (wife). For each housekeeping chore except washing floors, clothes to cleaners, pet care and garbage disposal, the third or wife's column has the majority of responses. The majority

Table 1: Housekeeping Checklist *

Housekeeping Tasks:	Who Is Responsible?							
	Husband (always or usually)	Husband and Wife (usually shared)	Wife (always or usually)	Children (usually)	Each Person Does Their Own	Relative	Hired Help	Nobody
Cleans oven and refrigerator	1	1	11					1
Washing dishes		5	7					1
Drying dishes	1	3	7					2
Making beds		4	9		1			
Changing beds		4	9		1			
Preparing breakfast	1	2	9		2			
Preparing lunch		3	9					2
Preparing supper	1	3	10					
Washing floors		7	6					
Doing laundry		4	9	1				
Cleaning bathroom		2	11	1				
Ironing		1	12					
Vacuuming		5	8					
Setting table	1	3	7	3				
Washing windows	2	4	6					2
Taking out the garbage	7	2	2	2				1
Shopping for children's clothes		5	9					
Shopping for adult's clothes		5	7		2			
Clothes to cleaners	2	6	3		1			
Feeding and grooming pets	1	5	2	1				3
Grocery shopping		6	8					
Repair and Yard Work:								
Repair work	8	3				1	1	
Gardening	3	2	3	1				3
Mowing and other yard work	4	3	1	1				3
Financial Tasks:								
Keeping track of the money	1	3	10					
Paying the monthly bills	4	3	7					
Figuring income tax	6	4	2				2	

*The figures do not always add up to 14. In some cases people failed to fill them in -- some chores were not applicable, for example, yard work for apartment dwellers.

of women do the traditionally female tasks, 11 clean the oven and refrigerator, 9 cook lunch and 10 supper, 9 make and change beds, 11 clean the bathroom and 9 shop for children's clothes. Men tend to do the traditionally male tasks of repair and yard work, and as column 1 shows, more men take sole responsibility for repair and yard work and taxes than for household or child care tasks. The tasks most frequently shared are the least sex-stereotyped and tend to be the less daily chores like washing floors, grocery and other shopping, and taking clothes to the cleaners, although 5 couples share the dishes. Women tend to predominate in the time-consuming daily chores like cooking, beds, laundry and housecleaning. They also seem to do the things that have to be done continually and are never finished. Laundry is a good example of this kind of task, as the clothes are washed the family is simultaneously dirtying another batch so laundry is never really a completed task. In general, women's tasks are the things their families daily "undo," like the dishes, laundry, cooking, beds, and cleaning. The financial section indicates men tend to do the once yearly tax returns while women do the more frequent monthly bills and keep track of the money. This very undoing is bound to lead to a certain frustration with housework; almost none of the study wives proclaimed any particular joy in housework.

Child Care Tasks: The compilation of child care checklists presented in Table 2 suggests a different pattern. Comparison of column 2 in Tables 1 and 2 shows husbands share in many more child

Table 2: Child Care Checklist

Child's Name:

Regular Child Care Tasks:	Who Is Responsible?							
	Husband (always or usually)	Husband and Wife (usually shared)	Wife (always or usually)	Older Child for Younger Child	Child for Himself	Relative	Hired Help	Nobody
Awakening Child	2		5		2			4
Dressing Child	1	6	1		4			1
Child's Breakfast	2	1	6		2		1	1
Child's Lunch	1	3	7				1	2
Child's Supper	1	2	10					
Diapers (if infant)		6	2					5
Bathing Child		7	5					1
Putting Child to Bed	1	10	1					1
Caring for Child's Clothes		2	10					1
Providing Spending Money	1	4	2					7
Meeting Child After School		3	4					6
Driving Child to School and/or Other Activities	1	5	2					4
Checking Whether Child Performs His Chores	1	7	2					4
Keeping Track of Where Child Is		11	1					1
Other Tasks:								
Doctor/Dentist Appointments		8	5					
Stay Home With Sick Child		4	9					
Clothes Shopping		5	8					
Shopping for Toys/Playthings		7	7					
Shopping for School Supplies		2	5					4

care than housekeeping tasks. The majority of mothers also seem to take sole responsibility for the more "housekeeping" aspects of child care, specifically meals, shopping and caring for children's clothes. Especially noteworthy are the shared figures for keeping track of where the children are and putting them to bed because these suggest these may be two areas of role rather than task sharing. In seven of the fourteen research families the husband and wife have arranged their work schedules so that when one is at work the other is caring for the children but the checklist indicates 9 women stay home with a sick child but no men do. However, lest we get too secure about the lists, the interviews give at least two instances when men did stay home with a sick child. This does not necessarily refute their wives, it may mean the wives usually stay home and feel it is more their responsibility to do so. In three of the above 7 families the mother's work shift is in the evening so the father's child care tasks primarily consist of preparing children for bed. Comparison of columns 1 and 3 indicates women take sole responsibility for more child care tasks than men.

Factors Influencing More Participation in Child Care Than Household Care: It appears couples share child care tasks far more than housekeeping ones. In assessing the checklist results it is important to keep in mind the three qualifications stated at the start, not the least of which is the distinction between task and role sharing. Although husbands share more child care duties, it is not clear how much of the responsibility for seeing

that they are done ultimately falls on many of the study wives. Nonetheless, while interview material occasionally conflicts with checklist material a careful check indicates they most often corroborate one another. Most fathers participate in child care and child rearing more than housework and it is interesting to speculate why. First, there is probably more enjoyment in doing things with or for a child, in interacting with another human being than with a mop and a floor. Second, society in general or more specifically one's friends and relatives put a premium on being a good parent, a good father, but one seldom hears of a good "househusband." There seems to be more consensus about what being a good father means than there is about how much a husband should help a working wife. As will be evident later, some of the major disagreements within families have to do with the division of household tasks. Third, many of the fathers in the study were critical of their own father's behavior and felt they wanted to spend more time with their children and families. As Mr. Wyatt explained in answer to a question about differences between his family of origin and his present family, "I think about it all the time. I say 'How can my father be so mean to a little kid, the way he was to me?' why wasn't there the love that I have for my kids. I don't even have to try (to do things differently), it's just natural. You know I sleep, eat and everything my kids. I'm crazy about'em." Finally, while there are skill and socialization differences say in cooking for example, the difference between housework

and child care help may come back to sex stereotyping, something everyone was aware of in one way or another. As Mr. Deneux put it: "I try to be helpful. I know some husbands who don't touch housework, who don't do dishes or clean the stove or take out the garbage but I do. I do my share of the dishwashing and I'm proud of it." His participation is "always a matter of trying to be helpful...it's a habit, it's automatic it's as automatic as doing the things other men do because they're "typically" a man's job... I don't think about it as my doing her job or that I'm joing a woman's job. And I don't worry about how she thinks about it, it's just that I know she knows that I like to do it and she lets me. We don't fight over who's going to do the dishes." His wife describes their sharing this way, "My husband is a big help to me, and he takes as much responsibility as I do. I do the washing and the ironing and things like that.... As far as taking care of the children he does as much as I do." Mr. Deneux then recognizes he does so-called "women's jobs" but this doesn't seem to concern him, nor does it bother several other study fathers. It does bother some others and prevents them from sharing some of the household activities labelled "women's." As Mrs. Wyatt, for example, explained, "...I think he thinks if I am working I am going to expect him to do certain things that in his mind a woman should do, like any type of housework, dishes and thin like that... call it an identity situation...." Finally, the uneve.. division of household and child care tasks may in part reflect skil differences and the fact that "in the process of being brought up,

there has usually been explicit training -- especially for the girl -- for the tasks that she will perform when she becomes a wife and mother in her own right,"[4/] and there is concomitantly often no training for boys, for example, in child care tasks. Almost every mother in the sample praised her husband's help with the children but many reported their husbands were initially timid around a baby and did not help out with child care until the child grew older. As Mr. Henry put it, "I'm not much of a diaper man." He did not bathe the baby because his "...hands weren't trained for it" and he feared he might drop the child. But both because some husbands were not deterred by their early lack of training and women tend to predominate in the relatively unskilled tasks like drying dishes, making beds and preparing breakfast, skill or training differences alone cannot account for predominant responsibility of wives for household and child care tasks. At the same time it is worth noting that the two checklists indicate wives do not do many of the so-called male tasks of repair (8 husbands do alone and 3 families share) and yard work (4 husbands do alone and 3 families share but several families have apartments with no yard chores) which is in its own way an example of sex-role stereotyping of chores.

Individual Family Patterns

The checklist summaries in the preceding tables give a general sense of the overall task distribution but they do not show how tasks are distributed within each individual family. The individual family checklists combined with the interview material suggest there are three different ways chores are distributed. Not every family fits neatly into one of these categories, some fall between them, but the categories provide a useful lense through which to view the family allocation patterns. This section will look at the arrangements of representative families and discuss some of the factors influencing them. The first pattern is a more traditional one in which the husband does the "male tasks" like repair, lawn-mowing and snow-shoveling and the wife does the "female tasks" of cooking, dishes, cleaning, and shopping. As previously pointed out, none of the families is thoroughly traditional but some fall more clearly into this category than into the other two. The second pattern is one in which the couple share many child care tasks but the wife does most of the household chores. The third pattern is one in which the parents share many of both household and child care tasks. Table 3 illustrates the three patterns and indicates in which of the three categories the families belong. A look at the table also shows the fact that some families fall more squarely into one of the three categories than others.

Table 3

Individual Families

	Child Care			Household		
	Father	Joint	Mother	Father	Joint	Mother
Wife does most household and child care tasks.						
Nelson	1	6	12	1	5	13
Hunt	0	4	11	3	6	17
Sedman	1	8	10	0	6	19
Jackson	1	1	7	6	0	20
Wyatt	0	4	14	2	4	18
Couple shares more child care but less housework.						
Long	0	9	5	3	6	15
Henry	1	6	7	7	4	17
Sandle	3	7	4	2	6	15
Couple shares most child care and housework.						
Samuel	0	9	5	1	13	9
Tilman	1	15	1	4	11	3
Park	3	8	5	2	15	5
Raymond	2	11	4	0	17	8
Deneux	0	7	5	8	8	8

The Three Ways of Dividing Family Chores: The Wyatts are an example of the more traditional family in that Mrs. Wyatt regularly does most home related chores, while the Longs are illustrative of families where the husband and wife share many child care chores. The third group is illustrated by the Parks family in which the couple shares many child care and home-making tasks.

Unfortunately, the research materials do not allow characterization of the families in terms of the distinctions among helping, task sharing and role sharing although there is evidence that these are valid categories along a continuum of chore allocation. In the Hunt family, for example, Mrs. Hunt described her husband's behavior as helping her out. Likewise Mr. Rose reported he helped his wife out when she was behind in her housework so they could do things as a family on weekends and Mrs. Wyatt described her husband's willingness to help out when she was sick. All of these men help out alot but not on any regular basis so they do not relieve their wives of the responsibility of worrying about chores and their completion. The Longs, Sandles and Henrys provided evidence of task sharing. The Sandles share the task of bathing storytelling and putting their son to bed each evening and the Longs share the responsibility for lunch preparation. Mr. Long prepares the meal for his two sons on the days his wife is working. There is a slightly different sharing arrangement at the Henry's where Mrs. Henry prepares dinner and Mr. Henry serves it to the children after his wife has left for work.

The Tilmans and Parks are examples of families in the final category. In the course of discussion and experimentation with different sharing arrangements, the Parks recognized the fundamental distinction between task and role sharing. It is the difference between occasionally helping someone to do their job and assuming equal responsibility for the job. Mr. Wyatt also expressed an important part of this distinction when he said "And 99 percent of the time I pick up the bread and milk. She doesn't even have to ask...." As the Parks explained it, "We don't have a mother role and a father role. We see ourselves as parents and Victor sees us that way." The Parks' goal is to achieve equality in their division of the breadwinning parent, and homemaker roles and they have made a very self-conscious effort they are proud of. The Tilmans are also making a similar effort. Mr. Parks pointed out that while there are no differences in their attitudes on household chores now there may still be some underlying discontent. Both the Tilman's and Park's efforts to achieve a satisfactory distribution then are a continually evolving process.

Factors Affecting the Ways Couples Allocate Tasks: We do not have enough information to describe precisely how and why each family divides tasks as it does but a number of factors have emerged as worthy of consideration. First of all logistical factors, like the working hours of the parents, both determine and are determined by how a couple decides to divide up household and particularly child care tasks. In 7 of the families (Nelson, Long,

Henry, Farlane, Sedman, Jackson, and Hunt) the parents have arranged their work schedules so that each has a child care shift while the other works. Several fathers have daytime jobs and come home at suppertime to relieve the mother of child care duties. In these cases the men's child care tasks consist largely of bedtime preparations. In 6 of the families (Park, Long, Farlane, Sedman, Deneux, and Wyatt) the husband is often home during the day. The husbands vary in how much they share daytime housework and child care from Mr. Sedman who sometimes helps get lunch and watch the kids but mostly works on house repairs, the garden and yard work to Mr. Deneux who is almost interchangable with his wife doing daily household and child care chores. So the fact that a husband is home during the day does not mean he necessarily will share more tasks but it certainly makes more sharing a possibility. Another family, the Nelsons, is set up so that older children and the father share responsibility for younger children on the weekends when the mother works. In 6 of the families both of the parents work during the day (Samuel, Tilman, Park, Sandle, Raymond, and Wyatt) and utilize some outside child care. In general hours seem to be arranged first around the father's job and then so that parents can trade-off child care and avoid the financial burden of paid child care. As the essay on day care explains, some families prefer for various reasons not to use outside child care services. In any case the parents' division of work hours appears to determine their division of child care time rather than vice versa.

Parent's experiences in their families of origin both in terms of the chores they had to do and the examples their parents presented affect their division of tasks. In terms of chores, Mr. Farlane, for example, said "In the beginning, before the kids, she did it all, I didn't want to help out much -- I never did it for my mother so why should I do it here?" Whereas Mr. Deneux reported he used to be "a big help" to his mother around the house and spent a long period as a single man doing for himself so he helps his wife a lot with household and child care. Mr. Raymond similarly reported he had chores as a boy and was "always just participating" in housework which he feels has made it easier for his wife because "I'll do a lot around here." Few of the families described their parents way of sharing tasks as positively influencing their own and many described their parents pattern as more traditional and sex-stereotyped than theirs.

None of these patterns of sharing are unchanging. The distribution of tasks changes as families progress through the life cycle and this has to be considered as a factor in understanding the division of household and child care chores. In the Samuel's family with a three year old, for example, the parents shared 13 household tasks but the mother took over 8 of them when she quit work to have another baby. They continued to share the majority of child care tasks and when the new baby arrives arrangements will change again as the father assumes responsibility for cooking, laundry, dishes and grocery shopping. He helps out if she is behind in housework so they have time to do things together weekends. He

feels the tasks are pretty evenly divided and she feels if they are both working they should both take care of the house but otherwise housework is her job so they are satisfied with a flexible arrangement. An informal "pitching in" arrangement also prevails at the Hunts. As Mr. Hunt explains, "There was never any real division of labor because I was always ready to pitch in" and Mrs. Hunt feels he "is a fantastic father and he does everything to make things easier for me, the dishes, helps with meals...." Each family's pattern of sharing may well change when their children reach school age. It is not clear what this will mean in some of the families where the father sees and cares for preschool children during the day and works evenings. They will presumably be less able to share in child care. However, Mr. Long for example, plans to switch to the day shift so he will see and help with his children.

The Parks have spent time discussing different sharing arrangements with other couples attempting the same thing and reported on the difficulties they and others experienced. They found the women "took on this ability to notice dirt." The husbands thought the women were neurotic because they noticed dirt all the time and the women thought so too, but they still noticed it." When it was arranged so that the husband did half of the household work, they found "they wouldn't mess around with the margins of things, like dusting and stuff." The Parks experience is echoed by other families. Mrs. Henry says she is very "dirt conscious," things lying around the house "bothers me alot and it doesn't bother a man at all."

Women's concern with cleanliness suggests there is a close relationship between cleanliness and being a good wife and mother but it also means there are likely to be problems about task sharing with their husbands. Some wives seem to feel their husbands just couldn't do the tasks as well and seem to end up as "supermothers" -- trying to work and assume responsibility for all the household and child care chores. Cleanliness then takes precedence over the attempt to redistribute tasks. This in turn suggests that it may sometimes be as hard for women to release responsibility for their traditional home and child care chores as it is for their husbands to relinguish sole responsibility for their traditional breadwinning chores.

Another set of factors influencing the allocation of home and child related tasks can be loosely grouped under the label of attitudes of friends, relatives, employers and society. Some anecdotes and experiences will help to introduce the discussion. Mr. Park often takes his son to the park on weekdays and he told this story about one such day. He was the only man there and he overheard speculation among the mothers that the child's mother must be dead! That seemed to be their explanation for his presence in the park. Mr. Sedman says "I think I'm around them (the kids) too much really...." He doesn't know if it would be easier for him to be home less but says "I think it'd be easier for them. Cause a lot of times, I'll be the one to go outside and see what's going on, I don't think they like that too much... (Interviewer asks if this is due to a difference between him and his wife.) No, she does

it too, but like the other kid's fathers aren't home during the day...." Mr. Sedman also indicated that he would like to attend kindergarten parent-teacher meetings but doesn't "know if we can, with my wife working" nights when the meetings are held. His wife pointed out only mothers attend the meeting and it would probably be awkward to go with his wife but it certainly would be more so to go alone. Mr. Wyatt recently took a day off to stay home and take care of his kids because his wife was sick but he told his boss he was sick "Cause if you call and say you're staying home for your wife, you know...it's not covered." Mr. Wyatt also reports he gets alot of ribbing about his wife working from his fellow workers. Mr. Wyatt and several other study fathers also reported being kidded about helping with home and child care jobs.

All of these examples illustrate some of the strains involved for men in both task and role sharing. Friends, co-workers, mothers in the park can all make fathers feel uncomfortable about stepping outside traditional roles and this prevents some men from ever doing so. It is nothing new to say that work and society are not arranged to facilitate parental task or role sharing. What is important however is the extent to which some of the men share household and child care work in the face of these constraints. Several men are trying in varying degrees to share the role of family breadwinner with their wives and take their financial contributions seriously and at the same time to share more in the work of child and home care. This is not to say that the increased sharing is not fraught with problems. The reactions of Mr. Sedman's children

indicate they feel some awkwardness about their father sharing in child care tasks. There are also other examples of instances where wives feel some awkwardness, for example, Mrs. Deneux sometimes worries about whether she is meeting her husband's desire for home cleanliness.

While husbands do share household and child care tasks, some more and some less, many wives still do most of the tasks and have the ultimate responsibility for doing them. The cup is half full so to speak for these wives because their husbands are sharing more home-related chores as they go to work but it is half empty in that many of the wives still do the bulk of the household and child care tasks. As the essay on parenting in dual worker families points out the half empty cup has consequences not least because it is very difficult to manage both responsibility for a job and for most of the home-related tasks. The fact that many of the wives do most home-related chores means that they have less time for themselves and to enjoy their children and families. Mr. Henry explained it this way to his wife in the joint interview: "In the daytime you should just sit down and play with them a bit. You work so hard and really you miss so many of the things that I see. You know, really she does, she works awful hard."

But of course this is easier said than done. Mrs. Raymond says the hardest thing to find time to do is to "be alone, to think." She added:

> "There is a doll house downstairs that I wanted to make and I have got the frame cut out but that's it and it has been since Christmas, and that doesn't take much time, I could have been down there 20 minutes before you came working on

> it but it takes a certain amount of preparation, a certain amount of time just to relax, to get into it, and that takes coming home from work, sitting down and having a cup of coffee, and then going down, but I never get there because there is always something David, Beth or Cary will have that they want you to do with them so that projects that you are thinking about or doing, you can't. The one thing I find different about being married and being single is that when I was single I was very single minded and things got done very quickly and I seemed as though I was doing alot but only because I had more energy to focus in one line, you know, in this case it seems as though not much is getting done...it is very frustrating...."

As the parenting essay suggests, this lack of time for self and to enjoy the family may have serious implications. The complexity of trying to coordinate work and family responsibilities may also contribute to the desire to limit their families expressed by many study families. As one mother put it "I never realized how much work a baby is." One of the implications of the fact that the bulk of the home burden often falls on women may be the desire to limit the number of children, although several mothers with larger families point out how much help older children can be with younger ones. Several other study families on the other hand, feel quite strongly against birth control.

Finally, a couple's feelings about the fact of the wife's working figure importantly in how they feel about the division of child and home chores. This is a very complex and difficult set of relationships to sort out as the essay on the coordination of home and work indicates. It is clear however that many of the husband's express a certain ambivalence about their wives working in part because of a fear that this reflects badly on their ability to support their families and in part perhaps because a working wife

is more likely to press for more help with child care and homework. There is a pressure for a more equal distribution of earning, child care and home tasks. The families reflect a range of responses to this pressure, from Mr. Farlane who feels that as long as his wife can do most of the household and child care tasks she can work too, to Mr. Park and Mr. Tilman who are self-consciously trying to work out role-sharing relationships with their wives. The last section of this essay will focus on the ways those families in which there is dissatisfaction with the task allocation deal with their dissatisfaction.

Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction with the Division of Tasks

Half of the families in the study expressed dissatisfaction with their sharing arrangements and half did not. The arrangements in the latter group ranged from the more traditional division of labor to those in which the parents share most child care and household tasks. Mrs. Farlane, for example, is satisfied with a fairly traditional arrangement. She does most of the household and child care tasks because she feels "I think it's up to me to take care of the house area, I don't think it's up to him.' In the Long family most of the child care chores are shared but Mrs. Long has responsibility for most of the household chores and neither parent reports any disagreement over this division. The Dereux's are a good example of a satisfied family sharing both household and child care chores. Satisfaction thus does not appear to be tied to any particular way of distributing tasks among the study families.

About half of the study families expressed dissatisfaction with their arrangements. Polls and studies though, indicate that dissatisfaction is not uncommon in general. A 1970 American Harris poll, for example, found that about a third of the working women polled felt men should help more with child care, cleaning and shopping. The dissatisfied families differ from one another in the way they handle their feelings. They fall roughly into three groups: those who are unhappy but do not discuss it, those who discussed it and made major changes in their arrangements, and those who discuss it but for whom the disagreement is an ongoing source of tension. There is little information about the discontent in the first group except that someone reported its existence. Mr. Henry, for example, said he thinks his wife thinks he should do more of the household chores but that he doesn't think this really bothers her and she jokes about it. It is difficult to judge the degree of dissatisfaction involved but it would appear that the parents do not discuss it.

There are two couples who reported alot of tension about chores early in their marriages, the Parks and Tilmans. Mrs. Park reported that she began to feel angry because she was working and doing most of "the standard things" involved in house and child care. This anger mounted and they eventually "...we made a conscious decision to split everything down the middle when we moved here...and that's the way it's been since then."

There was a somewhat similar evolution in the Tilman family. After the birth of her son Mrs. Tilman stayed home with most of

the responsibility for housework and child care. After about nine months, she began to feel this division of labor was unfair. She and her husband began to alternate daily responsibility and now feel they do housework and child care interchangeably. At the time Mr. Tilman was a student but following graduation he selected his present job in part because it was a place where he could bring his son, not so much because he would ever have to but because he wanted a place where he would feel free to do so, "where people would have respect for my family responsibilities."

The third group of families, those who discuss their dissatisfaction and for who it is an ongoing source of tension, are grappling with their thoughts and feelings about how to share the responsibility for home, work and child care. The pressure of change comes from the wives, and they feel their husbands should be doing more, particularly more household tasks.

Mrs. Wyatt works full time and would specifically like more help with the dishes, more regular help. Mrs. Wyatt feels "When a man comes home from work, he comes home and his meal's cooked. For a woman working there's always another job to do around the house. She told her husband and two boys she was going on strike saying "I come home and I'm tired...physically I might not be as tired as he is, but there's no way of comparing...and I really honestly feel that if I can come home and cook supper, he can at least clean the kitchen and the two boys can help."

Mrs. Wyatt says her idea of a better system would be if "on his days off, which aren't very often....if we get up in the morning

and have breakfast, and he cleaned the kitchen, while I made beds and stuff like that, I could also have the rest of the day to myself, to spend with all of them." She feels "I can honestly say I wouldn't want to see him walking around with a dust rag...mainly its a night after supper, I'm tired..." but adds "but as long as he does the shopping for me, and runs some errands, that is a big help. I'll keep him, you know, I'm not gonna trade him in!"

Mr. Wyatt says that on weekends his wife cleans the house and he does errands like banking and shopping and they share the yard work. He explained that he doesn't mind doing these things or clearing the table but loading the dishwasher is confusing and irksome. In response to the question about differences between men and women Mr. Wyatt feels women "can work and take care of the house, and the man can work and kind of help the woman when she comes home." But he says "...now she feels I should help her more around the house, where she's working. Of course I don't agree 100 percent with her there. This is something we've never agreed on, and I don't think we ever will. How can she compare her work with me doing construction work all day?...So after supper, I just wanted to go downstairs and watch the news. 'Well, what about the house?' She didn't actually come out and say it, but you know she kind of hinted. So I said, well okay, I'll take the kids down with me...but I guess she feels I should do more."

Mrs. Sedman works evenings. When asked how she and her husband divide chores she replied 'We don't...everything is really my job."

She thinks men should help around the house. In response to his wife's feelings Mr. Sedman says "I don't think nothing, I just do it because I feel like doing it." Mr. Sedman then asked his wife to name one other man among their friends who does as much around the house as he does. His wife responded she had and could do so but he didn't believe her, or that he then told her the person is an exception. Both later acknowledged many of his friends do not help as much as he does. Mr. Sedman clears the table, gets his children ready for bed after his wife goes to work, and vacuums and sweeps the floor. As is the case with the Wyatts, the Sedmans disagree about who does what and how often.

Both of these husbands described counter-pressures to a more equal division of labor. Mr. Sedman and Mr. Wyatt both feel they do more around the house than their friends do. Mr. Wyatt and his fellow workers talk about these things at work and he reports most do little to help their wives. When Mrs. Wyatt described what her husband does around the house at get togethers of his fellow workers he reported "The guys want to kill me. They say 'You...., you're getting us in trouble', their wives say 'Does he really?' and the men get really mad." Mr. Wyatt is caught in a difficult situation, he is in trouble if he helps out because his fellow workers feel it jeopardizes their position but he is in trouble if he doesn't both because he wants to help some and his wife wants him to help even more. Friends and fellow workers then can be a counter force of social pressure against increased sharing or can reinforce already existing negative feelings.

Both Mrs. Wyatt and Mrs. Sedman want future careers -- one in a real estate agency and one as a technician, and are actively thinking about them now. It may well be that these women are pressing for a reallocation of tasks because they would like to fit their work and their families more smoothly together. Both of their husbands help out some at home now but their reluctance to do more may reflect the ambivalence both expressed about their wives' future work plans. If this is the case it is another illustration of how closely attitudes about sharing work for pay are related to sharing other family tasks. It further suggests that working out a household task reallocation both affects and depends upon working out attitudes toward the wife working.

Handling disagreements about the sharing of chores is facilitated by the premium some of the couples put on sitting down and talking to one another. Mr. Wyatt for example said: "You gotta be able to look at everything two ways, it takes alot to be able to sit down at the table and have long talks. We do, 95 percent of the time...we fix a cup of tea and we sit down and talk about it." And Mrs. Wyatt added "...we came into the marriage I won't say with different ideas, but some ideas were different... there's divorce in my family, alot of it...so it's very hard to make a marriage work when you've never seen one working. It took alot on both our parts to sit down and say, 'look, I don't like this,' and 'what are you doing this for,' and sometimes you tend to hurt one another's feelings, without meaning to, but you have

to. That's one good thing we have going for us, we're able to sit down and talk to one another." Many families contrasted their ability to discuss things and make joint decisions with their parent's situation. As Mrs. Long expressed it, "What my father said was law but my husband and I talk things out." Mrs. Wyatt explained her grandfather nearly pushed her grandmother out the window when he found she'd applied for a job and she said of her situation in contrast: "I don't consider it as my husband letting me work. I work period. I don't need special permission to help out in the family. In that day and age the man was the king of the roost.... There's no one boss in this house." Yet while the capacity to discuss disagreements is felt to be important by some of the families it does not always lead to resolution or different task divisions. The Wyatts, for example, discuss their differences but they appear to be far from resolving them.

In the often difficult process of working out a satisfactory sharing arrangement sometimes the process itself helps couples to understand work and home roles better. The Longs are good illustration of this. Mrs. Long "noticed the one year when I was home with Sam that you lose contact...you forget how to talk to people...I'd always like to work part time." So she returned to work and she and Mr. Long arranged their schedules so one would do child care while the other works. Mr. Long doesn't particularly like her working but says "it's okay if she wants to.... She enjoys getting away from the kids a little every day." He himself finds

when he is alone with the children while she works that the kids "can get on my nerves too." He understands when his wife says "I got to work and relax" because he sometimes feels the same way leaving for work after taking care of the kids.

Conclusion

It is important to note that this essay presents a picture of the way families divided up work, home and child care tasks at one point in time and that the patterns of allocation will certainly change. When the research team visited the families with a first draft of the report they found some people had changed jobs and working hours, one of the many shifts which could easily affect task divisions. The stage of life when there is a baby or young child in the house is one of the most demanding in terms of both time and tasks. Most of the study women indicated that they plan to continue working and some plan to increase their work hours when their children go to school. Some of the husbands want to start or drop second jobs which may relieve or encourage increased work for their wives. It is impossible to predict what all the changes might be but it seems safe to say there will be changes in the ways the families divide up work, home and child care duties in the future.

Finally it is important to realize that many of the study families are working out personally comfortable ways to share work, home and child care arrangements pretty much on their own. Most couples for example indicated they were deliberately doing things

differently from their own parents, for example, fathers spend more time with their kids and couples spend more time talking and arriving at joint decisions about the things that are important in their lives. Most families could think of families they wouldn't like to be like but few could think of any they think are "model families" who they can use as guides in working out their own mutually satisfactory arrangements. Consequently, the families are pretty much on their own in the face of major social changes and changes in the ways men and women share work and family roles certainly are major. This essay then is an attempt to communicate what the families tell us about the difficulties in sharing tasks and roles, and to describe both the problems and the resourcefulness with which they face achieving a new balance of responsibility in what are probably the three most important areas in life -- work, home, and family.

Footnotes

1. These statistics define work as paid employment for the purpose of estimating the size of the labor force and determining unemployment. Women who work according to this definition are those who get paid. Accordingly, when a man married his housekeeper and ceases to pay her to perform housekeeping services she no longer "works" although she continues doing the same tasks. This example illustrates the limits of the Dept. of Labor definition. Although this essay distinguishes between paid and unpaid work for purposes of discussing the division of household and child care tasks, both are clearly work. It is also worth noting here that the narrower definition of work is relatively recent. As Smuts and others have pointed out, prior to industrialization work and other activities were "inextricably mingled" and paid work was done at home by both men and women. (See Robert W. Smuts, Women and Work in America, New York: Schocken Books, Inc., revised 1971 edition, pg. 2 and Edward Shorter, ed., Work and Community in the West, New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1973 and Jesse Bernard, The Future of Motherhood, New York: The Dial Press, 1974.)

2. Homework as Mincer and other economists define it includes housework, child care and all the tasks associated with them.

3. See for example the Smuts' book previously cited.

4. Robert O. Blood and Donald W. Wolfe, Husbands and Wives, New York: The Free Press, 1960, pg. 69.

Non-Parental Child Care

In the following essay, we explore the ways that working, middle-income American parents arrange child care for young, preschool children during times when the parents themselves are unable to provide it. We also consider some of the feelings parents express about these arrangements. The fourteen families we visited provided a great diversity of approach, both in the ways that they organized such care, and in the feelings they expressed on these issues. These families with working mothers are part of a growing minority. Over 30 percent of all U.S. mothers with children under age six are currently employed, and the trend has been rapidly moving upward in recent years. Given the changing role of women and the changing structure of families, there seems little reason to expect this trend to reverse in the foreseeable future.

Several general issues are important to any consideration of non-parental child care in our culture. First, the extensive role of American mothers in such care, relative to women in other societies, is well-documented by cross-cultural research. For example, the comparative data from a recent anthropological study of six different cultures, Mothers of Six Cultures (Minturn and Lambert, 1963), show the New England mothers of "Orchard Town" rank far above all other societies on the "proportion of time mother cares for infant and young child". It is a commonplace that our urban, industrial society has moved, over the past several generations,

from the extended family, characterized by a large family residential group, to a nuclear family, with only husband, wife, and their pre-adult children living together. Such a transition in residence patterns would naturally tend to increase the exclusive role of parents in child-care. Historians, however, have begun to question the validity of this vision of the extended family as norm in our past. As we discuss later, others have also begun to question the extent of the nuclear family's isolation from kin in modern society.

Accompanying the American family's lack of direct child care aid is a presumed lack of "psychological" services -- support, advice, and information -- on child rearing. The isolation of American families in this regard, particularly from their families and communities or origin, and their extensive reliance on "expert" opinion, is a related theme in contemporary commentary (e.g. Whiting, 1974). In this essay, we intend to explore the scope of this isolation, as well as some of the ways in which the families we visited have attempted to meet it.

Before continuing with the discussion, however, we want to try to give some impression of the complicated nature of daily schedules in many of the families. With both parents working in the families we visited, parents resorted to a wide variety of child care arrangements. This was partly because day care of good quality is extremely costly -- perhaps $40 a week is an average figure, and these families are generally not eligible for the few less expensive public facilities available because

their incomes are too high. Most of the families combined a series of alternatives -- care by each spouse in turn while the other was at work, hired babysitters, informal child care exchanges, assistance from relatives, and formal day care or nursery programs. The complexity of scheduling was often remarkable.

Take the Wyatts, for example. Mrs. Wyatt works full-time at a nearby real estate agency as a secretary, where she is also studying real estate sales and management. Mr. Wyatt is a policeman and also works part-time as a mason. Mrs. Wyatt rises at 5:30 each morning of the week to begin readying the children, Christopher 6 and Oliver 4, for school, because she found that getting the children up later and rushing them created problems. Chris attends first grade at a neighborhood school; Oliver is in a local nursery school program from 9-12, three days a week. A neighbor and friend, whose son also attends the nursery, drives Oliver to school and then picks the boys up at 12. Mrs. Wyatt has to leave by 8 a.m. for work, so Chris walks to a friend's house nearby and waits there to leave with him for school. When Chris comes home from school at 2:30, he picks up Oliver and the two boys walk to another neighbor's house, who cares for them until 5 p.m. Mrs. Wyatt picks them up on her way home from work. On the two days when Oliver does not have school, he most often stays with this babysitter all day.

Evenings and weekends, the Wyatts must often take turns watching the boys as Mr. Wyatt may be working or there are various errands to run. This complicated schedule can be easily undone,

as recently when the afternoon babysitter's husband became seriously ill. Mrs. Wyatt's mother lives in a nearby town and was able to fill in for a few days, until Mrs. Wyatt could find a temporary substitute up the street. But illness and other emergencies are a constant threat to the stability of such arrangements, and when asked what she might change about them, Mrs. Wyatt replied, somewhat poignantly, "I'd just like something a little more permanent -- not so many changes.

The Wyatts use a formal child-care program. In half of our families, however, the parents have arranged their work schedules so that each can be at home to care for the children, during the time that the other is working -- and most of these families make little use of out-of-home care. This pattern, because of the complexity of scheduling it entailed, suggests a certain reluctance to use available non-parental child care services on the part of these families. The focus of the following essay is on the kinds of non-parental care that were utilized. However, the fact that such care was set in the context of a considerable attempt by some of the families to minimize the necessity for it must be borne in mind. In a later section of the essay, we try to consider factors which were involved in the reluctance of some parents to use one particular form of non-parental care, formal day care programs.

The essay is organized around a discussion of three potential sources of non-parental care for preschoolers: relatives, informal neighborhood child care exchanges, and organized group arrangements like day care or nurseries. Regarding relatives and the

informal exchange systems, we consider both the provision of actual care services to the families, and then the role of such arrangements in giving less tangible help -- advice, support, and information -- to the families using them. Day care was the child care alternative that aroused the strongest feelings both pro and con. In a further section, we explore some possible hypotheses about factors which distinguish among families in their readiness to use such facilities, and in their reactions to the general concept. We end with some general reflections on modern parenthood which were expressed in all the families we visited.

Ia. Care by Relatives

Most of the parents we talked to expressed a preference for someone well-known to their child as an alternative caretaker. For many, this meant a strong preference for relatives as the center of child care services. Mrs. Deneux noted: "When my kids are left with my family, I know that they are loving them just like we would...whereas if a babysitter is there, you don't really know too much about her...She doesn't care, they're not her kids." And Mrs. Sedman remarked: "Well, when his father passed away, we just depended on my relatives so much -- so I did leave the kids a couple of times with one of my friends. But I don't like to put my children onto someone else, cause I don't know whether they really want to watch them, or just have to...." Both these families depend almost exclusively on relatives

-- their parents, siblings, parental siblings -- for child care aid. Indeed, in over half of the study families, relatives appear to have been the major source of such assistance during the early years of marriage, and in some cases, have remained so.

Residence patterns illustrate the extent of kin ties. A number of the families who currently live further from their families of orientation, had at one time in the early history of their marriage lived nearby or with them, and often received substantial assistance. This pattern was found in ten of the fourteen families -- often the relatives seemed to have provided a kind of "launching pad" for young couples because the families were able to save a considerable amount of resources during this period, and had used these to purchase their own home or to achieve a somewhat higher standard of living.

The Longs provide one example of this. They began married life in an apartment they had rented in Mr. Long's home town. After six months or so, however, Mrs. Long discovered she was pregnant and they decided to move to the downstairs of Mrs. Long's parents' two-family house. Now, four years later, the Longs are saving money to make a down payment on their own house in a nearby suburban community. They do pay some rent to Mrs. Long's parents, but it is lower than current rates for the area. Other expenditures are saved too, because Mrs. Long's mother is usually available to babysit and to help out in other ways. This is not to say there are not tensions involved in such a living arrangement, and the Longs look forward to owning their own house in a few years.

The Deneux family also noted these savings. Mrs. Deneux said: "It's too expensive to go out and then have to pay a baby-sitter. We've been lucky not to have to pay one too often." Mrs. Deneux's uncle or mother usually babysits for them, though this sometimes means a compromise in the length of their evening out, too.

A stereotypic view of the nuclear family in modern industrial society as isolated is unsettled by these examples of close kin involvement in an urban, middle-class sample. Goode (1963), among others, has indeed argued that this view is a misconception, unsupported by the evidence. Two contrasting patterns of residence during early married life in our sample of families highlight the role of such ties. Four of the couples began married life residing in the home of the parents of one spouse or the other (in two cases the wife's, in two, the husband's). One couple also moved to the home of the husband's aunt shortly after marriage. Another group of five families first began independent residence at marriage, but with the onset of pregnancy or the birth of the first child moved back to the home, or very near the home, of the wife's parents. As Mrs. Deneux explained, "I wanted to move here because my mother lives right around the corner, and he (Mr. Deneux) works crazy hours... I'm alone a lot...." It seemed apparent that the support and assistance of the grandparent generation was important to many of these families, particularly in the early years of marriage. Often the birth of the first child seemed to provide impetus to this process.

One further interesting aspect of kin assistance patterns in our data involves the exchange of services among young adult siblings. Though Adams' (1968) data on urban kin networks suggest that mutual help is a very minor aspect of contact between adult brothers and sisters, there were at least four families in our sample where siblings seemed to play a substantial role. In all cases, there seemed to be some degree of strain between the spouses and their adult parents. Though she is quite alienated from her mother, Mrs. Tilman remarked that her sister who lives nearby is "a very special person for Peter (son). If we ever go away for more than a few hours, we'll leave him with her...." This pattern suggests that sibling relations may play an important role in kin networks even if the primary relations between young adults and their parents are not readily available, due to distance or incompatibility.

More generally, it is apparent that relatives played a substantial role in child care assistance for a number of the families, especially in the early phases of a marriage. The fact of the mother's employment in these families probably led to relatives' involvement on a more intensive and regular basis than might otherwise have occurred. Where geographic factors did not make it impossible, relatives were often the first choice of families for alternative caretakers of young children, though this was by no means always the case.

Ib. Support and Advice from Relatives

In addition to the direct assistance that relatives provide in daily child care, they are often an important source of psychological support. Many of the families felt that they would turn to relatives in child care emergencies, and many gave instances when they had done so, even though they do not depend on relatives for regular child care assistance. As Mrs. Samuels, wife of an Army man, explained, "If I needed help right away, I could call on my two brothers in Rhode Island. Probably right now I would call on them. I don't know anybody around here that well that I could rely on them...." The majority of our families gave a clear indication that kin relations are the most important source of anticipated help in time of emergency. As the remarks quoted earlier suggest, relatives' help may be attributed to affectional sources, rather than social obligation, so families may feel more able to rely on it, and more comfortable with it -- as Mrs. Sedman indicated: "they really want to help, rather than just having to...." Perhaps because the norm of mutual kin assistance is so powerful, there may be a sense that no sort of "contract" is involved in child-care assistance from relatives -- they are not doing it in expectation of some specific service in return. Consequently, it may be easier to attribute such assistance to affection, rather than the fulfillment of felt reciprocal obligations. The kin system may thus function as a kind of refuge from the "marketplace" orientation of other relationships in the wider culture.

In contrast to the sense of support most families seemed to draw from the availability of relatives in times of emergency, there was some consensus that relatives were not helpful sources of advice and suggestions about child rearing. Several exceptions to this were apparent, but these usually involved child rearing advice from a brother or sister, rather than one's own or the spouse's parent. Advice from siblings seemed to be much more acceptable to families than that from the children's grandparents. Mrs. Deneux expressed the feelings of some when she remarked: "I didn't talk to my mother much about problems with the kids, because she just didn't remember very much... I was surprised." Underlying this matter-of-fact explanation in some cases, however, were much stronger feelings about the independence of the family. One father remarked: "I don't think the way I raise my children is any of my relatives' business -- if their kids were perfect, I'd go to them and ask how they did it, but they're far from perfect." Resistance to the advice of grandparents is often one way of differentiating or separating the new family from the families in which the parents grew up. This is an important task for all families, especially in the early years of a marriage. It may be a particularly necessary one where the new parents live in close proximity to their own families of origin, as many in our sample do.

The Sedmans expressed another common sentiment: "We don't talk to relatives about child rearing much. Times have changed and the problems are different. 'Oh, my children never did that.' But they did something else that you never heard about...." This

feeling, that parents' advice is outmoded or inappropriate to present day child rearing, seemed to be a major factor in most of the families heavy reliance on experts. For example, Mrs. Wyatt said: "My mother is really of the old school... She and my friends -- they all had different advice. It sort of confused me. I would occasionally call on my sister-in-law, but the doctor was my Rock of Gibraltar. He was great...."

Many families expressed a certain ambivalence about expert opinion, however, even the ubiquitous Dr. Spock. Mrs. Long remarked, "When they were sick or something, I'd look it up... Otherwise, he (Spock) has a lot of screwy ideas." And Mrs. Hunt said: "When I first started out, I lived with Dr. Spock. Then I decided, I'm not going to bring my children up out of a book!" These comments illustrate the impact of "expert opinion" in this culture -- all families seemed to have to come to grips with it in some fashion, to make explicit choices or decisions regarding it. Coupled with the general wariness regarding the grand-parent generation's values discussed above, this obviously intensified the responsibility of parenting. As Mrs. Tilman remarked about child-birth methods: "There are so many different ways of doing it, and you just have to decide and be so determined, because if you waiver at all, people will hound you..." This questioning of traditional modes of child-rearing inevitably leads to uncertainty and, often, to considerable anxiety. Strong cultural and social forces weaken the confidence that American parents can place in the values of an older generation. We will reflect more on this issue in the closing sections of this essay.

IIa. Informal Child Care Exchanges

As we have just seen, relatives' aid is an important child care resource for many of the families with whom we talked. However, in many other families, relatives currently do not provide regular child care assistance, and such services must be obtained elsewhere. One interesting pattern we noted in several of our families was an informal system of child care exchange involving several families, usually in a neighborhood setting.

The Henry's provided a good example of this pattern. Though we did not obtain exact information on their pool, it does not currently involve the exchange of money, though it did at one time in the past. At least three families are involved, and our impression from the Henry's description is that scheduling and reciprocity are very informal. Mrs. Henry explains, "Leila takes the Marsh's kids, and mine. Now I'll watch hers and the Marsh's little boy. It's done for nothing -- there's no money, it's just a friendly thing... It does get tiring sometimes, I had five the other day, and I was glad to see them go (giggles)...." On our daily log, a record of visits and visitors in the family over a week's time, Mrs. Henry noted that Leila twice left her child for two or three hours in the mid-morning. Another neighbor, not mentioned in Mrs. Henry's description above, also left her infant briefly. The Henry's did not receive any child care aid during this week -- Mrs. Henry was recovering from an illness and was not working during this time. However, Leila did come to help Mrs. Henry clean her oven, suggesting that the "exchange" system between families may be broader than just child care, encompassing a range

of mutual aid activities. Prior to the development of this exchange, the Henry's had hired teen-age sitters, and were very dissatisfied with them.

The Parks, also isolated from their own families by both distance and preference, have developed a babysitting exchange with another couple whose child their son likes. The Parks are particularly pleased with this since "it's a whole mutual relationship.... It's kind of a whole family thing." The Farlanes, a family with somewhat older children -- Lionel, the oldest is nearly 10 -- have owned a home in a pleasant suburban area for the past eight years. Their move here has meant it is much more difficult for Mrs. Farlane's mother to help with child care, but the Farlanes have developed a network of informal assistance with a neighbor across the street which they utilize during child care emergencies (they regularly use a neighbor girl as a hired babysitter). Mrs. Farlane: "In a real emergency, I'd turn to a friend. because they're the ones that are closest... We've had a couple of emergencies and I've called my neighbor across the street -- she came over and stayed until 1:30 in the morning with the kids...." Mr. Farlane then remarks: "Of course, she (wife) does a lot for the neighbors -- sometimes I think she treats them better than me!"

We did not collect detailed material on such informal child care exchange systems. We need better information on how they become established, and on how each member's expectations are met. In certain respects, they seem to stand intermediate between

the kin system, with its system of exchange characterized by very informal and generalized reciprocity, and the formal purchase of services through a hired babysitter. This informality in exchange may well be associated with a greater sense of trust and control in such networks. Mr. Henry noted: "Leila treats the kids just like her own... She's close, trustworthy, and fantastic with the kids. She's also even-tempered like I am, and my wife too." Clearly, these networks provide families with a feeling of confidence often lacking in formal babysitting arrangements. As Mrs. Deneux remarked: "If a babysitter is there, you don't really know too much about her." As we discuss next, such arrangements provided a satisfying sense of mutuality for some families as well.

IIb. Advice and Support in Exchange Networks

Informal neighborhood-based networks can also have an important effect on parents' general sense of well-being. The Henry's describe their present neighborhood as "great, unreal... We like it here. The neighbors are great. They see you going out the door, they figure you're taking the kids because you have to. They'll say -- if you want to go by yourselves, we'll take the kids." The Henry's contrast this neighborhood sharply with the one in which they formerly lived.

The Parks also derive a good deal of support from their current friendships with several couples involved in mutual child care exchange. These families met one another through the "play-

group", a neighborhood-based group care arrangement which the Parks' son attends. Mrs. Park explains their feelings: "We felt that we were in a context that was very complicated because we didn't know what we were going to do. We felt quite alone and uncertain... But getting involved in the playgroup, I realized that other people were thinking about it -- thinking about the issues we were facing...."

In addition to the other functions these arrangements can serve, they clearly provide an important opportunity for child care socialization -- a place to discuss children and child rearing, to receive reassurance and support. In connection with the previously discussed question of mother's isolation from relatives in this culture, it is interesting to note the apparent resourcefulness of a number of our families in obtaining such information from sources other than their relatives. Mrs. Wyatt, for example, describes the neighbor across the street: "She's been a tremendous help to me. She's raised two older girls and a 12-year old, and she's been very good. My mother is -- very much of the old school (giggles) -- but my neighbor's gone through an awful lot with her kids and she's really helped me. A lot of things, I'll ask her, more because she's older and she's been through it all before." Similarly, Mrs. Farlane says she can confide "anything and everything" to her close friend who has children a little older than the Farlanes. Mrs. Henry too finds she is now more open in discussing the children's problems with others, since Leila, the neighbor with whom she exchanges baby-sitting, has been encouraging her to discuss them. A number of

women also mentioned friends from work as helpful in this regard as well.

It appears that such women, often somewhat older friends or neighbors who are part of such informal exchange networks, can fill an important role reserved for female kin in more traditional social contexts. Such settings provide at least some of our families with an antidote to the problems of generational isolation in our culture -- a serious issue regarding the transmission of "folk wisdom" on child rearing, as Beatrice Whiting (1974) has pointed out.

IIIa. Formal Group Care Arrangements

Despite the expensive nature of "day care" noted at the beginning of this essay, eight of the fourteen families we interviewed had used some form of group child care for preschoolers for a substantial period. Two others had tried a neighborhood day care facility briefly, but disliked it and withdrew. There was considerable variation in the programs involved. They ranged from large centers with upwards of 30 children and many staff, to a home-based program with one paid mother and five children. This latter program is run by a larger organization which supervises an extensive network of such homes. The size of this operation permits this program to offer a variety of support services, such as social workers and training courses for the mothers involved, but its home-based structure keeps each setting small and individualized.

The goals and purposes of these various programs differed as well. Some were part-time and more "academically" oriented. Others put more stress on the provision of all-day care as their primary mission. But a sharp distinction between "day-care" and the "nursery school" among these programs seems difficult to draw. Nor did the families usually make clear distinctions along these lines in their own discussions. Mrs. Wyatt noted that Mr. Wyatt did not want to send Oliver to the nursery school. Mr. Wyatt explained, "It was those day-care centers I saw before --the kids running rampant, I didn't like that..."

In the following discussion, we have adopted the blanket term "group care facilities", though obviously the range of programs encompassed among even our small sample is very wide in many respects. For example, the programs also ranged in parental involvement from very little to a cooperative group where most decision-making was carried out jointly by the parents. Though we have tried to focus in the following discussion on the families' use of such programs, rather than on the programs themselves, these various differences should temper the reader's interpretation of some of the hypotheses we later offer.

In this regard, and very importantly, the families' use of "group care" ranged from three to well over forty hours a week. Obviously such arrangements played a very different role in the over-all child-care strategies of the various families. We should also note that the attitudes we discuss were usually expressed as the parents' reactions to "day-care" in a general

sense, while the actual use of such facilities was naturally based on each family's particular experience.

These feelings about the use of "group care" also varied, even among the families who had utilized programs. The Tilmans were perhaps the strongest advocates: "One of the reasons we put him in day care, so he could begin to understand other people a lot sooner, and not become so dependent on one person... So regardless of whether I work or not, there are a lot of reasons why people should have this group thing right away. You have to commit yourself to day care as a philosophy which also involves certain changes in the whole marital relationship...." And Mr. Park, another proponent added, "I think kids involved in such things as the playgroup are much different in family style than any other group in American history. People have more openness, don't beat on their kids psychologically so much. Kids are released much earlier from the bosom of their families... When these kids go to school, there may be enough of them not to take the shit." For these two families, the use of group care was one aspect of a general ideology of change in the structure of the family. For whatever reasons -- perhaps because of class or educational background in their families of origin, perhaps because of a special interest in this area of social change -- these two families were different from others in our sample in this regard.

This ideology obviously helped to lend a certainty to the Parks' and Tilmans' use of group care. Some of the other parents

who had used such facilities seemed more uncertain, however. Mrs. Sedman remarked, "See, I have to really go in and just observe. I wouldn't want just... my sister went to a day care center when my mother had to work. And she just dreaded going. I don't want my kids to go through that. If they really like something, I can always work my time around it." In general however, other families who had used group care stressed its socializing benefits for the child -- the opportunities it provides for learning to get along with other childre. . Mrs. Hunt remarked, "I want him (son) to be free to do the things he wants to do -- just a social outlet, for him to be with other children... It's very relaxed, they're not pushing them to do ABC's or whatever." Some parents also stressed more "academic" learning as well, however.

Most of the families who do not use group child care arrangements expressed concerns and had their reasons, too. Mr. Henry was worried about the adequacy of supervision in such programs. Describing a program used by a friend's son, located on a busy street, he explained: "Well, one of the kids got right out the door -- so that made me kind of nervous... The only way I'd ever agree to one of those places was if they had one person for every two kids." Discussing day care, Mrs. Deneux says: "I wouldn't send my kids to day care. I've heard stories. I want to bring up my own kids... I mean I would go on welfare before I would go out and leave my kids with somebody else, because I think it is very very important for kids to be around their parents, at least one of them, during the day, and let their parents bring them up...."

Other families in this group expressed similar uncertainty or outright rejection of group care facilities. Indeed, with several clear exceptions, there seemed to be some uncertainty about the use of such care among most of these families, even for those who used it regularly.

We must keep in mind, however, that families made these comments based on a particular context, and their own experience within that context. At present in the U.S., "quality" group care for children is often too expensive for these families. Some facilities which are available are of dubious quality. Were high quality child care services of this type available at less expense -- through subsidization of whatever sort -- the reactions of many of these parents might have been different.

At first glance, these reactions seem to approximate the now classic social science dictum that "attitudes follow behavior". Families that use group care arrangements, for whatever reasons, come to stress their positive benefits and may even become ideologically committed to day care. Those who do not utilize such programs are more ambivalent or negative. Ideology must follow the necessities of living -- the point seems obvious. Yet ideologies also structure the way we experience "necessities", and the relationship is often not so simple as portrayed. Let us consider briefly some cases from our sample of the decision-making process regarding day care placement, with a view to illustrating the interaction of attitudes, committment, and behavior.

Two of the familes not currently using day care had tried a local program and been unfavorably impressed. The Longs, in fact,

tried twice to use the program. Jason, the Long's 3-year old son, both times became upset and did not want to attend -- he experienced stomach-aches, tension, and cried frequently when going. Mrs. Long was interested in sending Jason to the program -- based at a local elementary school -- since she was concerned about his growing dependency on her. But when he became upset, she felt it better not to "push him": "He went one day, and after that refused to go. Complaining, crying. He'd wake up screaming at night... He still has two years to go before he has to go to school, so we figured, why push him into it...." Perhaps next summer, Mrs. Long will try again. The Henry's experience was quite similar. Irritation over a teacher's seeming insensitivity to the parents, combined with concern about the adequacy of supervision led them to stop after a brief trial.

In addition to these two families who had actual experience with group care, others who had not tried such programs expressed similar fears. Mrs. Farlane, concerned about the amount of time Terry spends with her, notes that she has considered sending her to day care: "I think day care is fine if necessary -- I wouldn't put her there to get rid of her, only for her sake. For company... But on that first day, I'm afraid she's the one who'll be screaming...." Children's expressed dissatisfaction, coupled with the parents' uncertainty about day care, can lead them to reject group care arrangements. And yet, the willingness of these two families to try out such alternatives, even in the face of considerable concern, suggests also the need for such services -- group care arrangements with which parents can feel comfortable.

Whatever the underlying factors, whether attitudes or practical matters, some families reacted quite differently to children's dissatisfaction with day care. When the Parks, for example, first began sending Victor to day care, "He often didn't want to go, and we just grimly insisted... He really disliked it for the first three weeks. He was very unhappy. There were times when we considered taking him out but then he got to like it, got close to the other kids...." Similarly, the Tilmans explain that Peter often cried before going to his previous day care program. When the family moved they looked hard for another, better, setting. But for some time, Peter continued in the first one. Indeed, in almost every one of the families who currently use day care, a period of difficult adjustment of varying length was reported. But the children's reaction was here viewed as temporary and reversible, and though parents obviously did not enjoy the situation, they felt constrained to continue. As Mrs. Wyatt said: "The only thing I think that was bothering him (son) was when I wasn't here when he came back from school, but I thought 'We'll give it a try', and it's worked out pretty well. Children adjust a lot easier than grownups...."

Certainly these different reactions among the families do not suggest that some parents are more "indifferent" to their children's feelings than others. What seems clear is that commitment, for whatever reasons, varied a good deal in these families, and had a substantial effect on their subsequent exper-

iences and reactions to the group care arrangements. Clearly, committment to the idea of group care as an explicit alternative to exclusive child rearing in the nuclear family was involved for two of the families -- the Parks and the Tilmans, as their comments above illustrate. Such a goal was not important for other families, however. We want next to explore some of the reasons for the differences in committment that did seem to be present among these other families, considering two sets of possible factors. First, we discuss some of the economic and practical matters which seem likely to be involved in decisions about the use of (generally expensive) group care arrangements. Second, we consider some general perceptions and orientations to parenthood that seemed related to expressed negative reactions to day care.

IIIb. Economic Factors in the Use of Group Care

When we analyze the pattern of actual use of group care facilities by the families, some rather straight-forward economic hypotheses are suggested. In many cases, the facilities involved are rather costly in terms of family income. With $40 a week as an average estimate for a full-time program, this amounts to a yearly expenditure of $1600 - 1800, at least, for each child using such care, perhaps 15 percent of the total family income. And a number of the families have more than one preschool child. It seems likely that such expenditures will be borne by the family, generally in exchange for maternal time, only if the mother's

employment is seen as a long-range investment, either in the wife's career or the husband's. Mrs. Wyatt, for example, is receiving training in management on her current job, and hopes to improve her position considerably. Mrs. Samuels plans to finish college and become a teacher. Mrs. Sandle, a nurse, would prefer to work less time and have more time to spend with her child. But her husband is a student, and she must work full time to support him -- so here day care becomes an investment in the husband's future career. All these families used formal group care programs.

These women were all working full-time or nearly so. Indeed, this factor of hours is obviously important in the use of group care programs -- where wives are away from home more hours, the families seem more likely to use such care. However, Mrs. Raymond, who currently works the fewest number of hours of all the wives in the group but uses a nursery school for her youngest daughter, also links her employment to long-term plans. Talking about the possibility of changing jobs, she says "It would just be for the experience of running a business. I really want to have my own business -- I hope maybe within another year...."

The factor of work hours is also linked explicitly to career issues for some women in the sample. Mrs. Long, for example, who tried day care but decided not to continue, remarked: "I don't think there are real chances for promotion there the way things look now. You have to work more or less full-time to get anything." (Interviewer: Would you change to get a better job?) "I don't

think there are many places that would let me work the kind of part-time hours I work now... I guess I'd stay where I was." And Mrs. Farlane, who is satisfied with her part-time nursing work, says "If I were to go and get more education, the kind of job they would have to give me would be full-time, and I wouldn't accept it... I don't want to work full-time -- I don't want it to affect my life that much." Neither of these families uses group care facilities. Mrs. Deneux, who does typing part-time in her home, expects to do that "all her life." "I enjoy work. If I could go out to work I would, but I don't like to leave my kids", she says. She has never considered using day care. And Mrs. Nelson, who would "never use day care," works part-time on weekends as a nurse. "I know I'll have to work, at least til the children -- oh, it'll be a long time I'll have to work to help them, just to pay the bills and the food now, I'll have to work at least two or three days a week." Mrs. Nelson makes it clear that she has no interest in any further developments in her career.

In summary, the pattern of use in our sample suggests the hypothesis that expensive group care services will more likely be purchased if this expenditure can be viewed as an investment, often in the wife's future career. The number of hours women in these families spend in the work force seems to be a factor too, but this practical issue seems determined in considerable part by the wife's orientation to her future work career. Where wives view their work in more purely economic terms, as an assist to family income only, such high expenditures on child care seem to make less sense. Of

course, as the essay on home-work coordination points out, views of the wife's employment by both wives and husbands are not static. Women who begin to work for purely "economic" reasons, to supplement the family income, may quite likely develop an interest in advancement and a continuing career. Our study covers only one brief slice in time in the lives of these families. However here, as in other instances we discuss in these essays, views on the wife's work role seem central in the kind of pattern adopted in other aspects of family organization (see, for example, the essay on household task and role sharing).

In this discussion of economic considerations, we should also note the effects of the number and position of children on a family's willingness to use day care. Sending a youngest or only child to day care frees caretaker time at less expense than if two or more children are involved. Several of the families most resistant to the use of day care had more than one preschool child, though this was not always the case. More generally, this points up the greater ability modern parents have in controlling family size. Mothers can be more certain that their families are completed, and that this will indeed be the last child. Many of the parents in our sample did not expect to have more children, and this ability to plan for the future probably has important consequences for mothers' career aspirations, as we note elsewhere in the essay on role-sharing.

Economic considerations clearly play a major role in decisions about child care alternatives, just as they do in many other areas.

However, we do not mean to suggest that they are always, or even usually, the sole factor in explaining such decisions. As our discussion above illustrated, attitudes and values impinge on each other and affect the way families see issues and alternatives.

We had originally expected that many, if not most, of the dual worker families that we would visit would use hired child care services, simply because of the pressure of time constraints and the difficulties of arranging other care. It was indeed something of a surprise to find the degree of concern about day care we encountered. A reluctance to use child care alternatives outside the family was clearly involved in the decision of seven of the families we visited to stagger the spouses' working hours, so that most of the child care at least, could be done sequentially by the parents themselves. We want next to consider some of the general values and orientations that seemed involved in these parents' resistance to day care.

IIIc. Views of Parenting and Day Care

There were some differences in perceptions of the parental role among our families which seemed related to feelings about day care. Parents opposed to day care saw themselves attempting to preserve their children's development against the ever-present dangers of outside forces -- the peer group, mass culture, and so on. Mr. Deneux says: "You can't be with them 24 hours, and they will be influenced by the people they associate with.... I think

that's what most parents worry about." Mrs. Nelson agrees: "A bad family is one where the parents don't pay enough attention to the kids... watching out for them. People who watch the kids and are careful of them are good parents. They don't let them get into trouble." Often, families in this group see the major changes in family life over the past generation or two as very negative -- they find themselves attempting to keep the values of earlier days against a difficult and changing world. Mrs. Nelson says: "I'm in a neighborhood where families aren't too changed. But I think family life has been put down... Kids aren't being brought up as strict...." As we observed earlier, these parents may not currently solicit the advice of their own families of origin. But they strongly value their recollection of their own upbringing.

Trying to preserve traditional family life as they experienced it in a rapidly changing world may mean an added psychological burden. Mrs. Henry perhaps put this most poignantly: "I hope I can be the mother mine was, do for my family what she did. I'm trying to raise my children like I was raised. But the children today seem so much smarter..smarter in the things they want to do." Other parents in this group made similar remarks. There is pride in this "smartness", in the greater wealth of experience that this generation of children seems to have. But there is also concern, for there seem to be many more dangers and much more to be careful about today.

Unlike the families most opposed to day care, many of the parents who used group care programs contrasted their upbringing

in their families of origin with their own current styles of child rearing. Rather than trying to preserve a valued past, these families seemed to be developing styles they viewed as different from those of their parents. They tended to see the direction of change in family life over the past two generations in more positive terms. Mrs. Wyatt remarked: "You're more aware today of the fact that children are human beings." Mr. Wyatt adds: "To me, families in the past had much less understanding... You have to have understanding, to be able to sit down and talk things out. And we do that...." And Mr. Sandle says: "I could see myself assuming my father's attitudes in child rearing... I could see it and I stopped doing it. I am conscious of not treating my son the way I was treated." Mr. Sandle sometimes worries about his wife's working and their use of day care, but he attributed this concern to his own background -- "If both my parents had worked when I was growing up, I probably wouldn't have the question in my mind. But they didn't, so consequently mothers' working is an issue for me." Perhaps his questioning of his parents' child rearing, however, makes these worries more bearable. Parents who see their own upbringing in less critical terms may be reluctant to seek alternatives in their own styles of parenting. The use of day care seems to stand as a symbol of this break with tradition for some of the families we visited.

For some parents, too, day care experiences involved contact with radically different life-styles. Mr. Long, discussing the "hippie" families of the children his son met while in day care

briefly, said: "I couldn't be comfortable living like that... The way these people dress the kids, I think that affects the kid. Those who were running that day care center, that's just not my type of social life..."

Thus, the parental role for some families takes on an added quality of vigilance. As Mr. Long expresses it, day care may represent the intrusion of new life-styles and philosophies with which these families feel uncomfortable. And the use of group care arrangements may pose the "relinquishing", in some psychological sense, of the proper parental responsibility of surveillance and protection of children from such outside influences -- an important element of perceived parental responsibility in some families. And as previously suggested, perceptions of one's own upbringing may also be involved in feelings about day care. It seems clear that only group care arrangements that permit parents to exercise real control over the child's experiences can be acceptable and satisfying in this context. In this regard, we should note that in two of the families who did use group care in our sample -- the Parks and the Hunts -- parents had very intimate contact with the respective programs. Mrs. Park actually worked part-time as a parent-coordinator, and Mrs. Hunt's mother was director of the center that they used. Such close contact was undoubtedly reassuring.

IV. Parental Uncertainty

While certain tensions are explicitly high-lighted in families opposed to day care, a sense of parental uncertainty is hardly

absent in any of our families. In some respects, all families are caught in a sort of conflict, as they struggle to preserve the past and adapt to the future. Such a perspective dramatizes the awesome sense of responsibility that parenthood in our culture entails. One feels directly responsible for the child's behavior. Mrs. Deneux says: "I worry about Michael not listening to me, they say it is just a stage, but I know it is because of the way I brought him up, because a child only acts the way you bring him up, and I am the one who has really been with him a lot...." Or Mrs. Wyatt, comparing the child rearing of today with that of the past; "Parents today are made more aware that children are human beings. Certain things you just don't do with a child, because in his adult life it's going to leave him with a hang up or something." In addition to the family's direct socializing responsibility, however, there are worries about the disorganizing forces of the broader culture. One symbol of this for many parents was powerful anxiety about the drug culture. The children's adolescence, a distant time for most of these young families, was etched into their future as a danger point, when powerful forces might easily undo the most careful child rearing efforts. The sense of helplessness in the face of such forces is explicit in Mrs. Farlane's comments: "In this society today, I think the greatest fear a parent has is that the child will turn to dope or something -- I'm just afraid the wrong kids will get hold of them... It's a terrible thing, but I feel this way -- my only hope is fear. It's like teaching younger kids to be afraid of the street so they'll stay out of it -- that's the kind

of danger you're talking about... I try to tell the kids -- 'Those kids who touch drugs, they're dead. Their life is over.'" Rather than being an element in an organic system then, the families see themselves as struggling in opposition to the disorganizing forces abroad in the wider culture.

This sense of uncertainty about the future weighed heavily on almost all our interviewees. Earlier, we referred to the tendency of these families to reject the advice of the grandparent generation, sometimes with an explicit statement of its lack of relevance to modern child rearing. The parents we interviewed, however, were obviously also expressing concern about the relevance of their own style of child rearing to their children's future lives. Even those ideologically committed to changing the structure of the family and child rearing felt these anxieties. So, Mrs. Park, discussing her son's future, says: "I sort of see that if he goes on the way he's going now, he's going to be a really neat person. Only a sinister outside force would change him... I'm so aware of the world changing so fast -- who knows what he'll have to face in twenty years. He's going to see a lot.... He's going to have a lot to think about...."

V. Conclusion

Parenthood, in all times and all cultures, is a truly complex and remarkable role. We have touched on some of its burdens, but there are also many, many joys. Each in their own particular fashion, these parents often conveyed a sense of accomplishment or

learning or growth that bodes well for the future. With the rapid pace of change in modern society, the obvious challenge we all face, in a cultural sense, is to find and develop means for the exercise of parental responsibility that will be both satisfying and adaptive.

It seems clear that a range of non-parental child care programs will be an important part of this future. The reactions of the parents we talked with indicate the need to make such programs more available to these middle-income families, on the one hand. On the other hand, they also point up the kinds of issues and concerns parents have in using such facilities. Parental involvement in the planning and operation of such child care alternatives is critical in a double sense. First, it is what parents want and need for their own sense of well-being and responsibility as parents. And second, it is critical for those developing such facilities because, as we have seen, parents have much to tell us.

Pressures, Motivations and Satisfactions Of Parenting in Dual-Working Families

A vital facet in the study of any family or group of families is interaction between parents and children. We need to understand the factors, external and internal, that affect this relationship. All families in this study have at least one preschool child, and all of the mothers are working, either full-or-part-time. The mother's employment while her children are young affects many aspects of family life, some of which are touched on in other essays. The focus here will be an attempt to consider how the fact that both parents work can affect and is affected by caring for the children.

Most people, with and without children, have definite opinions on "the working mother." Few have escaped hearing the old and pervasive adage: 'The mother's place is at home with her children.' Those who believe this maxim sometimes have negative opinions about working mothers, unless she works because of economic necessity. Many stereotypes naturally follow from these beliefs: The woman who would leave her young child to go to work does not really love the child. She does not have time for her children. The father is not seeing that his child is properly taken care of. He could not really love his child if he did not require his wife to constantly attend to it.

Our study indicates that nothing could be further from the truth: The detailed and complex planning of these households is

oriented around the appropriate care of children. The wives and husbands are working not only for self-fulfillment but to provide as well as they can for their children now and in the future.

Other essays in this report deal with some of the work patterns, child care and task-sharing arrangements that the parents have adopted to meet the exigencies of work and child care. Here we shall try to give a glimpse of some of the everyday pressures these parents face in dealing with their children, some of their motivations and some of their mutual satisfactions. In the first part of this essay is a discussion of the various pressures on both parents as a result of their both working. The second part is a discussion of the pressures put on all parents by the larger society. In the third section we discuss ways families deal with these pressures.

1. Pressures on Working Parents

Most families reported that the mother is usually the more easily upset of the two parents and the father is the more quiet, patient and even-tempered. Mrs. Deneux remarked that her husband never got into a mood. "I'm not the easiest person in the world to live with and I know it." We learned something about mothers through their discussion of their children. For example, Mrs. Nelson who described one son as "tempermental" like her and another as "quiet" like his father. Mrs. Long remarked, "He (the child)

has a temper, but I can't complain about that because he takes after his mother." Such statements were echoed with only slight modifications by most of the families in the study.

Observers saw harried mothers and fathers, but we observed that the mothers at home seemed more tired and were acting under more pressure. There seemed to be a number of possible factors related to this which we shall elaborate below. However we should also keep in mind that mothers often reported, and undoubtedly perceived themselves as far more "irritable" than we as outside observers saw them.

A. Environmental Pressures on Mothers

1. Dual Responsibility for Work and Home

> Mrs. Sandle works as a nurse 7:00 a.m. - 3:30 p.m. daily to support her student husband and their four year old child, Bob. She gets up at 5:30 a.m., prepares herself for work, gets out clothes for Bob and leaves by public transportation at 6:30. Bob gets up with his mother and goes in to sleep with his father until 7 or 7:30. Mr. Sandle then helps Bob get dressed, though he can dress himself, Mr. Sandle likes to make a "pleasant time" of it. Mr. Sandle then drives his son to his day care center, leaves the car there for Mrs. Sandle to pick up later, and goes to school by public transportation.
>
> Mrs. Sandle leaves work at 3:30, picks up Bob at day care, drives with him to do the necessary grocery shopping, and then goes home. At home, she does kitchen chores and prepares supper. At the same time she tries to play with Bob. Sometimes she has trouble doing both. Mr. Sandle gets home at 5:30. The family has supper. Mr. Sandle spends time playing with Bob and keeping him out of his mother's way while she cleans up the kitchen and does other necessary chores. Both parents spend time playing with Bob, then Mr. and Mrs. Sandle put him to bed. Mr. Sandle studies for a while, Mrs. Sandle does household chores. Then they relax and go to bed.

The above sequence is an example of an extremely busy, high-pressured day for both parents. Their schedule illustrates the

complexity of trying to schedule work, travel, chores, child care, and dinner when both parents work. Mr. Sandle is involved in more child care and home care than most men he knows; he reports he does the chores that he "doesn't mind doing", but that leaves a lot for Mrs. Sandle. Not only is Mrs. Sandle often working as many hours outside the home as her husband, but she still has the primary responsibility for household chores. In addition, she -- and most other working mothers in our sample (who were working hours that prevented the father's totally caring for the children in their absence) -- is ultimately responsible for locating child care to cover the time that she is working.

The Samuels family is another example of a family with a complex schedule. Mrs. Samuels looked for a very long time for a day care situation that could keep her child during the long hours that she worked, and she changed jobs when she could find neither suitable day care nor a suitable babysitter. Because of his wife's work, Mr. Samuels, like Mr. Sandle, is more involved in housework and child care than most men he or his wife know.

Mothers are under pressure because they both work and hold ultimate responsibility for home and child care. Fathers are under pressure to help out more than most men they know. However, their anxieties center more around work and the work place and their role as providers. Mothers' anxieties seem to center on the home. They are still ultimately responsible for the well-being of the family. For example, in most cases if a child is sick and can't go to day care or the

babysitter's, the mother must arrange an alternative -- often staying home herself. As the essay on the division of household and child care tasks indicates, although husbands help out, the wives seem to bear much of the responsibility for the tasks. For example, in the Henry family, Mrs. Henry explained that her husband helps a great deal with both child care and housework. He feeds the children supper and puts the children to bed when their mother is working. However, during one observation one child was in the bathtub calling for something. Mr. Henry was standing outside the bathroom door. He called to his wife at the other end of the house to convey the child's demands: The mother still bore the primary responsibility for child care. In the face of such home and child care pressures on top of normal work duties, mothers certainly might display more "irritability" towards hoem and children than the father exhibits.

The Sandles had for some time had problems with their day care situation, and had been thinking about changing. However, they had not yet been able to locate a replacement. Their young son had often come home complaining, and it became apparent to the parents that he was made to feel unwanted and "dumb" in the day care setting. One day when the parents went together to pick up their son, the day care mother was angry, ostensibly because they were five minutes late. Mrs. Sandle became upset, spoke angrily to the woman, and said they would not bring Bob back again the coming Monday. Mr. Sandle apparently remained calm throughout.

This example was used to indicate that Mrs. Sandle was more easily upset than her husband. Mr. Sandle had realized that the day care mother had a "rough day" herself; Mrs. Sandle did not attempt to justify her own actions. In fact, in later discussing the situation, Mrs. Sandle felt unhappy about the way she had acted in front of her son. Yet neither considered that Mrs. Sandle had also had a rough day and that this might explain her impatience. They also did not consider the fact that the responsibility for Bob's day care was centered on Mrs. Sandle: She was faced with having to find a new day care for Bob immediately in order to continue her work. In addition to this, the Sandles may have been uneasy that they had not removed their child from this day care setting earlier, and Mrs. Sandle was likely particularly concerned about this. Certainly, all things considered, Mrs. Sandle seems to have had adequate cause to be "upset."

Sometimes, perhaps ironically, the father's helping out in tasks can produce even more pressure for the mother than the burden of having to carry on alone. This occurs when the mother feels the father's involvement contains an element of criticism, rather than being simply constructive, cooperative helping. Mr. Deneux, for example, has had previous experience with housekeeping and child rearing. He does a lot of cleaning and caring for his children. However, Mrs. Deneux sometimes feels she does not do as good a job as her husband and finds this upsetting. In another instance, Mr. Henry remarked that he noticed his child had an infection and needed to see the doctor, and Mrs. Henry felt this was an implied criticism

that she should have been more observant. One husband comments that his wife does all the finances, but he frequently picks at her for making mistakes. In these cases, it is not necessarily direct criticism that increases the mother's aggravation, but her own fears that she may not be fulfilling her responsibilities as well as she ought.

2. Task Quality and Satisfaction for Mothers and Fathers

In almost all of our families the fathers help with more chores than might "traditionally" be expected. However, as the essay on task allocation indicates, they tend to do more child care than housekeeping chores. In general, mothers are more responsible for the never-ending, less clearly defined chores like house care, cleaning up after the children, preparing food, doing dishes and laundry. Fathers are more responsible for the more clearly defined chores, such as shopping and repair work. Unlike mothers who are trying to do other chores while watching their children, fathers' hours of child care are more often devoted to child care exclusively. Mr. Henry wonders why his wife can't relax more and enjoy the children as he does. Mrs. Henry agrees that she does not seem to have as much patience playing with the children as her husband. But a factor both leave out is that when Mr. Henry is playing with the children, that's all he is doing; Mrs. Henry has been observed to be simultaneously trying to cook, clean house, do laundry, referee fights between two children, and sit down and talk to and answer the demands of one child. Mr. Henry does recognize and appreciate how hard his wife works, but neither seems fully

aware of the difficulty Mrs. Henry has in actually separating her roles as housekeeper and mother.

B. Psychological Pressures

As the essay on non-parental child care indicates, many parents tend to be isolated from their own parents' child rearing values. In addition, they fear the encroachment of values foreign to their own. They often feel they have to "make it" by themselves. It is important to make clear that the strong sense of "independence" we found in many families does not imply a state of social isolation. In the case of the Henry family, for example, there is a high value placed on sharing and "interdependence" among close friends and neighbors (see e.g. the discussion of babysitting exchange in chapter on non-parental child care). But the family does shun any sense of taking from others if the Henrys can't give as much or more in return: they don't want to receive if they haven't already given. They will be happy to share in a situation of un-self-conscious generosity on both sides, but they don't want to take out of "need." It is in this sense that Mr. Henry avoids dependence on kin or neighbors, and his determination to look after his own family shows itself in his determination to eventually take his family to their land in New Hampshire, away from what he perceives as corrupting influences in the larger society beyond the limited social network within which he feels at home. Because many parents, like Mr. Henry, perceive the world outside the family and close friendship network as dangerous, they have an increased sense of responsibility to care

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for their children and guard their well-being. This puts an additional pressure on the parents themselves.

Mothers and fathers both have expectations about themselves as workers and parents. These expectations are related to the roles defined by the larger society. But these "traditional" roles often do not easily fit the situation of dual worker families. Some of these expectations may be impossible ideals in any family setting. For example, Mrs. Henry feels it is very important to be "nice": to be paitent, gentle, and not to raise your voice. She is upset with herself when she cannot maintain these standards, and does not readily see that there may be circumstances which justify or at least explain their violation. In one instance, when the Henry family went camping together, a small son picked up and dropped a whole bottle of milk -- the only one they had -- on the floor. Mrs. Henry feels she should not have become upset and angry as in fact she was.

Mrs. Henry feels also she should have a spotlessly clean house, although she has two young children and works full-time evenings. This concern for good housekeeping was shared by several of the mothers in the study. Mothers we studied make heavy demands on themselves as mothers and housekeepers, and these demands are not altered by the fact that the mother works. The personal and social demands to be a good mother and housekeeper -- a "super mom" -- add considerably to the pressure many of these working women feel. Under this pressure it is no wonder that many of the mothers in our sample claim that they are frequently tired, though they are

sometimes ashamed of the feeling. Mrs. Samuels, late in pregnancy and still working, does most of the household tasks. She described herself as "lazy" because she occasionally lies down for a while in the mornings after her child goes to nursery school and before she goes to work. Mrs. Nelson recently went to the doctor for extensive tests because she was becoming tired; it is interesting that she should first look for a purely physical cause, ignoring the possibility that a more overt cause or at least contributing factor to her fatigue might be her arduous task of coordinating the smooth running of a household for nine children. She does admit that it is easiest for her to really relax when she is by herself after all the children are in bed. This means that she frequently reads late into the night facing yet another hectic day.

Husbands also feel the pressures of rearranging responsibility for breadwinning, child care and homemaking. Many husbands feel pressure to remain the principal breadwinner of the family, and many wives recognize the husband's job as the main job of the family, even though both parents work. Then, on the other hand, many wives want their husbands to help out more at home, and, in fact, many husbands see the justice of this. On the other hand, as indicated in the essay on division of household tasks, there are social pressures against men's increased involvement in the household. Men must make decisions in the face of these contradictory pressures.

Families transmit different ways of dealing with child care and household tasks to their children. In some families, relatively

traditional sex roles are maintained for the children. For example, Mrs. Nelson expects the older children to help with the younger ones, as well as with other household chores. The girls are consistently called upon to perform child care duties for their younger brothers and sisters. First the oldest girl did all the babysitting. Now that she is out of high school and has her own job, the younger sisters are taking over. The older boys certainly help out with other chores, and will help in child care if necessary, but they rarely are found babysitting the toddlers when their younger sisters are available for the task instead.

In other families parents insist on less traditional roles for their children. In the Wyatt household for example Mrs. Wyatt has been trying to get both her husband and her sons to help clear the table after supper. Mr. Wyatt said "...cleaning the table, even Christopher, you know I'll be sitting here having a cup of tea with her and he starts cleaning. I'm supposed to help too, he says 'c'mon Daddy, let's go you gotta pitch in too.' Okay, okay...geez!"

Some mothers feel that their careers are also important to their children. Mrs. Farlane, a nurse, takes care of all the neighborhood children's scratches for which her children are proud of her. Because she works with student nurses -- late adolescents -- Mrs. Farlane feels she can better understand the world her children -- some now early adolescents -- will be entering. Another mother feels that her job makes her a better mother by enabling

her to spend some time out of the house. Still another mother feels her income is important, because it promotes family welfare.

We have emphasized particular pressures on the mother in dual-working families which might make it more likely that she become upset in the face of stressful or demanding situations. However, factors of psychological isolation and anxiety affect all families today and are only likely to be intensified in families where the parents are branching out from the "traditional" parental roles. These pressures affect the fathers as well as the mothers. One factor which seems to have an especially important effect on parent-child interaction, and often serves to introduce an added source of stress, isolation, and guilt, is the feeling on the part of many parents that they are solely responsible for their child's development. Evidence of this consciousness shows itself in our families' more frequent use of "experts" (pediatricians, social workers) for advice than their own parents exhibited; the reliance on child-rearing books, the eager studying of courses on child development by some fathers as well as mothers. Parents feel that their children imitate them and learn from their subtle cues.

However, parents do not necessarily understand how they influence their children. At our request, most parents found it easy to describe their children in terms of whether or not the children are like themselves. For instance, one mother with many children described her children in the following way: Jack and

John are quiet and studious like their father; Suzy is more rebellious like me. Mrs. Wyatt feels responsible for her son Oliver's acting out behavior especially since he does not act with the same rebelliousness at nursery school as he does at home. She notes that he has a "temper like me". On the other hand, both Mr. and Mrs. Wyatt explain that they have trouble understanding their son's behavior. Yet they feel directly responsible for it, and they feel that his behavior reflects on them.

This belief that the child reflects the parents has several consequences. They feel great responsibility for their children and pour energy into the process of child rearing. For some this sense of responsibility emerges in the belief that only parents can really know and care for their children properly. This can result in a family's feelings of isolation, as in the case of the Jackson's who refuse all but the most well-trusted outside child care aide. They feel that alien influences from the outside may affect their child through the medium of unfamiliar child care.

Even though parents may be doing a good job of raising their children in a stressful situation, without support and reinforcement that their way is somehow "right", there may remain a residual doubt. This becomes especially painful when things are not going smoothly and the parents have no reference point from which to evaluate who is responsible for a problem and how to solve it. Mrs. Henry's statement to one observer that "children are smarter"

nowadays actually may have been another way of saying "I'm not sure how to deal with them."

Parents expressed their doubts in the questions they asked us about child rearing. Mrs. Samuels asked one observer how she should give medicine to a recalcitrant child, though she had dealt with this difficulty many times in the past as her four year old had had several previous illnesses. This desire to get some kind of "expert" advice seemed to us a request for support and confirmation in making child rearing decisions.

Because of parental uncertainty, attention may be focused either on the relative success or failure of the child. This is to be expected if children are perceived as the product of their parents. In the absence of outside acknowledgment or support of certain parental child rearing practices, the child itself can become the "evidence" of the degree of successful handling by the parents -- parental anxiety about children's performance can be expressed in several ways. Parents often asked the researchers to compare their children's behavior to that of other children; they asked if certain behavior was normal; they wondered whether we perceived certain desirable qualities in their children. Parents take pride in their children's early successes: Mr. Deneux showed how his nine-month old son could hold on to a pipe and be lifted up. Mr. Sandle described how his four year old could read some letters and words. Likewise, Mrs. Samuel encouraged her young child to demonstrate her knowledge of letters. Mrs. Henry enjoyed

pointing out the qualities of kindness and politeness in her children and cited examples of how kind and sharing her children were.

Parents feel a great deal of responsibility for the child. For some this emerges as a need to constantly monitor their children. They want to know where the children are and what they are experiencing. They want to be assured that their children are protected from danger, and danger seems to be all around them. Under these pressures parents expend a great deal of energy keeping up with their children. They watch them and interact with them both for their own pleasure and out of their need to know what is affecting their children.

Other parents also feel the tremendous weight of their role in influencing their children, but react to it by encouraging their children to experience as much as possible outside the home. They feel that their impact on their children can be beneficially mediated by their children's interaction with both other children and other adults. Thus for these parents, professional child care outside the home in a day care or nursery or organized play group is perceived as a helpful support. Also they feel their children enjoy and benefit from the company of a lot of other children under competent supervision.

2. Dealing with Pressure

The previous section has dealt with the various pressures in the study dual worker families feel as they combine work, child

rearing and household responsibilities. Each of the study families however had important ways of counterbalancing the pressures and these will be described here.

First, all of the families were very proud of their children and enjoy their "family time" together. We observed many affectionate interchanges between parents and children. When Mrs. Samuels and her three year old baked a cake together they laughed, talked, giggled and thoroughly enjoyed one another. Mr. Sandle explained how he tries to make a happy and pleasant experience out of getting his son dressed in the morning. His son doesn't really need help but he likes to share this time with him. There are numerous other examples of parents talking, playing, holding, rough housing and enjoying their children. Both the mothers and fathers show a great deal of physical affection for their children and begin reading stories and talking to their children even when they're still very young.

Many of these parents have almost no time to themselves, but there is always a special time set aside for the children. An evening in the Parks family is a good illustration:

In the Parks family, after both parents had worked all day, Mrs. Parks was baking bread, cleaning up after dinner; Mr. Parks who had just finished helping his son bathe a sore foot was studying and preparing to go off to a night class: but all household chores and parental activities stopped while both parents talked and played with 4-year old Victor. Then Mrs. Parks after father's departure, used getting Victor ready for bed, brushing teeth, etc.

as further time for pleasant chatter, explanations about germs, talk of the days activities; then there was a brief rough housing on the couch while Victor dared his mother to try to hold on to him as he demonstrated his strength and agility in wriggling away; and finally Mrs. Parks lay down with her son for the night's story, patiently answering his questions as they went along, and seemingly -- by her tone -- getting as much involved in the story as Victor himself. Only after Victor was well on his way to sleep did Mrs. Parks collapse on the couch and admit her own exhaustion to the observer. Mr. Wyatt said they try to make the most of all the time they are home with their kids. He explained he never got any attention from his father so "I always try to give it to them. Even if it's just watching television, I'll let them both sit in my lap and make a big deal out of it." He is looking forward to the time when he can afford to take off one day a week to spend with his two sons.

In many of the families the parents are aware of what they have had to sacrifice for their children but on balance they are not unhappy with the decisions they had made. This was nicely expressed by Mrs. Deneux: "I just wish that I had waited longer now, when I can see the situation I wish we had worked longer before we had children and got our house and everything. But I don't know whether I really wish it or not, I say I wish it but my girlfriend is in the situation where she did wait and she doesn't have any children and she (owns her own house and has a new car)

but those are just material things,...I am delighted with my children and to me they are more important than anything else, they really are." One has the sense talking to these families that they by no means take their children or time with their children for granted. Our work with study families then, refutes the old stereotype of busy working parents who put work before their children or who do not care as much for their children as single worker families. In fact our families seem to share the same concerns about their children most other families do.

A second counterbalance to the pressures the families daily face is the high premium many of the parents put on communicating with one another. Mr. Wyatt in fact felt since his wife has been working "...if anything I think we're closer, because we tend to miss each other, so we appreciate it more when we have time together." Many couples set aside special times to talk. After a long work day and an evening caring for his children Mr. Hunt waits up to talk to his wife when she comes back from her evening job. Mrs. Deneux calls her husband at work on the night shift before she goes to bed herself. Many of the couples with staggered work schedules make it a practice to call each other when there are lulls in their jobs. Most of the couples reported they make mutual decisions about child care and discipline as well as about other major areas of their family life. This premium on communication and joint decision-making then serves as a vital counterbalance to the daily pressures these very busy families face.

The Coordination of Home and Work

The spheres of home and work influence each other enormously. It is true that homes and work places have dynamics of their own. A person keeps a job or changes it according to pay, job security, work satisfaction, and the importance he or she attributes to any of these. A person makes decisions about staying married or separating, about whether or when to have children, about organizing child care and household chores one way or another according to the complex of personalities, perceptions, desires, expectations, feelings of love and care, guilt and fear, that constitute family life. We cannot understand work without interpreting it in the context of home life, nor can we begin to understand families without setting them in the context of the world of work.

Relating work to home life was not always a problem. As Peter Berger has observed, simply to conceive of the "problem of work" is a modern phenomenon, a product of the Industrial Revolution.[1/] In Europe before industrialization as in simpler societies still today, work and family are not sharply separated. But over the past two centuries capitalists separated the work place from the home in the service of efficiency, production, control, and capital accumulation. The factory system they created regularized work hours and made the rhythm of work subject less to the natural pace of day and night, one season and the next, more subject to the demands of machine age entrepreneurs for control, order, and coordination. That work was once thought of as "sun-up to sundown" but now takes

its shorthand title from the clock, "9 to 5", is linguistic confirmation of the power of the man-made over our experience of life.[2/]

Industrialization inaugurated shift work day and night and produced enough goods so that the economy moved first from farm to factory-based, then from factory to service-centered. Growing reliance on shift work in factories and the vast expansion of white collar, professional, and service jobs led to the wide variety of arrangements of working hours we now have.[3/] Ten of the fathers in our sample work odd hours at service sector jobs, two have service sector jobs with regular hours, and two have industrial sector jobs with odd hours. (See Chart I.) Mr. Sedman does maintenance work from 4 in the morning until 10 or 11; Mr. Deneux manages a recreation business from 2 in the afternoon till 1 in the morning; Mr. Long is on the night shift supervising freight at the railroad; Mr. Wyatt is a policeman, on some days and off others, on some nights and off others; Mr. Farlane is a salesman who sets his own schedule. Two fathers are students who study in the evenings; Mr. Henry supervises maintenance for a building firm, a job in which he is autonomous enough to be home for a leisurely lunch hour each day. Mr. Nelson's job as a teacher leaves him free summers and he adds to his income year round several nights a week as a salesman. Mr. Samuels works an eight hour day in the armed services but every fourth day is a full twenty-four hour hitch for him. Mr. Raymond works daily at the docks until at least 5 -- but he begins at 5:30 in the morning.

Men at Work: The Consequences of Irregular Hours

What, if anything, does it mean for the father of a family to work irregular hours -- or, in the revealing term of the British post office, "unsocial" hours?[4/] We may understand this as two questions. First, what is the effect on the family of the father's presence at home during the 9 to 5 hours? Second, what is the effect on the family of his absence during other hours?

It should be clear that many aspects of a man's job will affect his family: the hours he works may not be as important as his income, his satisfaction on the job, the status of the job, the degree to which he is closely supervised in his work, the distance to the workplace, and so forth. A job which is especially exhausting or depressing may make a man more unavailable to his family than long or unusual hours; a job with insufficient income may lead a man (like Mr. Nelson or Mr. Henry) to take a second job and so, again, be less available to his family.

The question of work schedule attracted our attention, nevertheless. Most of the families we studied take the husband's job to be more important than the wife's -- the wife's job, particularly in terms of the hours she chooses to work, is scheduled around the husband's job. In almost all of the families we studied, the man's job either presently brings in more money than the woman's or, in the case of the two students, will produce more income in the long run. Thus there is a practical reason for the emphasis on the man's job. Moreover, to one degree or another, the men in our study see themselves as the chief "providers" for the family and, to one

degree or another, are committed to that role. For most of the women, having a job is very important -- but less important than taking care of house and children.

We will discuss the attitudes of the men and women toward their work in more detail later. The point to make here is simply that the hours the man works constrain his own contribution to housework and child care and condition the kind of work available to his wife. Further, in those families where the father is regularly home during the day (Long, Deneux, Sedman, Parks) or regularly away from home in the evening (Long, Deneux, Sedman) the father and his family are subject to special pressures. These fathers deviate most noticeably from the culturally stereotypic factory and office men whose behavior is the standard by which others are judged, the convention to which others adjust or fail to adjust.[5/] There is nothing subtle about this: Mrs. Long knows her husband's night schedule is "screwed up" and Mrs. Deneux several times refers to her husband's schedule as "screwy."

What is the effect on the family of the father's presence at home for all or part of the hours from 7 to 4 or 9 to 5? Mr. Parks is a student who prefers working at home to working at the library. This allows him to take an equal share with his wife in child care, and he does so willingly. The arrangement has clear advantages for splitting child care and household responsibilities. For instance, Mrs. Parks takes three year old Victor to the play group in the morning, since she works there part-time, while Mr. Parks picks him up in the middle of the afternoon, some hours after his wife has

come home from work. This gives her undivided time for her editorial work at home. The Parks appreciate the flexibility with which they are able to organize their schedules around each other, but Mr. Parks complains of the flexibility, too. "I really have too much time on my hands," he says. "I know it is hard on my wife to have me around the house all the time. Not that she doesn't want me around, but she also needs her private space."

For Mr. Parks there is an additional problem we should mention: not only is he home during the day, but he is working when he is. This might reduce the problems of being around the house during the day if his work demanded more segregation within the home -- a dark room or a workshop or a study he could close himself into. But Mr. Parks reads for his work -- which to his son is not easy to dintinguish from his reading for pleasure. Mr. Parks looks accessible to his son when he is working at home, but he is not accessible and he feels this to be a problem. This is an irritation men rarely face, although women have put up with it regularly. When the mother is home she is ordinarily working and cannot give full attention to her children. When fathers are home, they are ordinarily at leisure and can play more patiently and continuously with their children. It is not easy to be a good father or a good mother, but in the standard arrangement it may be easier for a father than for a mother to look good.[6/]

Mrs. Sedman expressed occasional annoyance at having her husband around the house during the day. He spends some time with the children

and some time doing house repairs: other times he relaxes or takes on the role of backseat housecleaner: "Sometimes it's a pain having him here all day," Mrs. Sedman told us. "You know -- he'll say, 'You forgot to do this or that.'" Mrs. Deneux likes having her husband at home during the day, particularly as he takes a large share of child care and household responsibilities. Nevertheless, even in the expression of her pleasure she indicates that she thinks this an unusual situation -- she thinks most husbands at home during the day are trouble for their wives.

Why should some women object to the presence of their husbands at home during the day? This is not a question we explored with the families we studied. Still, we can make a few guesses from what we do know, from the signs of conflict, however minor, we observed. Housework is in many respects unsatisfying labor. Much of it is repetitious or boring. Much is "unproductive" -- one maintains, at best, one does not create in doing the laundry or the dishes; the aim of much housework is not to affect one's environment but to keep it from being affected or changed. Most of housework -- by the nature of our social system, not by nature -- is solitary, even lonely. On the other hand, there are rewards in housework unavailable in many other occupations. There is the pride of caring for things one's loved ones own rather than for things a "boss" owns. One cares for what one keeps or shares with family rather than for what one sells to an anonymous public. There is, especially, the freedom from supervision, from regimentation, from schedules set rigidly by machine or clock or foreman. This

freedom to work at one's own pace and to set one's own standards is threatened by the husband's presence -- probably, we suspect, whether he is expressly critical of his wife's housekeeping or not.[7]

The father's presence at home during the day means that, when he has preschool children, he has more time with them than the ordinary father. Mr. Long appreciates this -- one reason he likes the night shift at the railroad is that it gives him more time with his children. He hopes to switch to a day shift when his children start school, "or else I'd never get to see them." Mr. Sedman, on the other hand, feels he is around his kids too much. The source of his uneasiness about this is not clear, but seems to come at least in part from his sense of social norms and ideals: "Other kids' fathers aren't home during the day," he observes. If a father is awkward with his children, he may feel especially self-conscious about being home during the day, but cause-and-effect may run the other way: if he is uncomfortable being home during the day, he might become more self-conscious and shy about being with children.

For these families, the husband's absence in the evenings appears to be more of a strain than his presence during the days. Mr. Sedman has to be in bed by 8 or 9 to get up at 3 for his work -- this left Mrs. Sedman alone with the television in the evenings, the children and her husband asleep. That is why she chose the work schedule she did and one reason she went back to work in the first place -- she works several evenings a week now from 6 to 10 p.m. Mr. Deneux and Mr. Long work evenings, effectively eliminating social life. Mr. Deneux works from 2 p.m. to the early morning.

He is thus with his family as much or more than most fathers, and he takes a great interest in child care and all aspects of housework. Still, the only time he has with his wife is spent with their two children as well. Mrs. Deneux states her biggest problem simply: "I don't have enough time with him." She thinks back wistfully to days before their children when they had more time and energy for social life and every Friday would go out to dinner and a movie. They bowl on Fridays now, Mr. Deneux's night off, but his work hours are an unrelenting irritant in family life. Mrs. Deneux likes having her husband around during the day but she could well echo Mrs. Sedman: "I like it and I don't like it" because Mas. Deneux would also like to have him around in the evening. When they are together they are always in the presence of two young children and they rarely get a chance to sit down and talk.

The social construction of family life is rooted in a social organization revolving about a conventional work schedule. Recreation is oriented to people who are free evenings -- films, theaters, sporting events, and "prime time" television are all scheduled for the hours from 7 to 11 at night. Similarly, meetings of churches and clubs, dinner parties and card parties are also generally scheduled in the same hours. Few of the men or women in our sample belong to any organized social, political, or church group. Other key social institutions -- like the public schools -- serve many parents as babysitters as well as educators of their children because the assumption is that the hours the child is away from home are the same hours the father is away from home. Some of this may be changing

to accommodate what seems to be an increasingly scattered array of work schedules: twenty-four-hour grocery stores and drug stores are more common than they once were, and longer hours in supermarkets and laundromats and other service businesses may ease the logistical burdens of working irregular hours. Still, families where fathers work irregular hours are for some time likely to be confronted by a constriction of the possibilities of social life and by the need to organize personal and domestic space in the household during the day in uncommon ways.

One would imagine there should be incentive to shift to more standard hours. There may be. The Longs and Deneuxs both miss a more active social life. The Parks, Sedman, and Deneux families all find the husband's availability at home during the day a mixed blessing. Yet there is no strong move on the part of these families -- so far -- to change. Other competing considerations interfere. First of all is the need for income. Three fathers in our sample work second jobs (Nelson, Wyatt, and Henry), a fourth used to (Hunt), a fifth works overtime regularly (Long), a sixth would like to find a second job (Sedman). There is a great and increasing need for money in most families and, at least in the case of Mr. Long, this led to the choice of unconventional hours in the first place: the night shift offered him a better chance of promotion.

Of the men in our study, only three have strong prospects for significantly greater income in their present jobs. This includes the two students who can expect to have high paying (Mr. Sandle) and medium paying (Mr. Parks) professional jobs and Mr. Tilman who

has just begun work as an architect. The other men can sharply increase their income only if they take second jobs or work overtime or if their wives go to work. Three of the men are on government payrolls and so their wages rise very slowly, especially in times of inflation. When political leaders suggest that the government set an example in the fight against inflation by "tightening its belt", it is the belt of the Wyatts, the Samuels, and the Nelsons they are referring to.

The second consideration that keeps the men in our sample from changing jobs and work schedules is the need for job security, especially in a tight labor market. Of the eleven men in our sample over thirty, three have held their present jobs for ten years or more, four have been in their present jobs from five to seven years, and four are students, in jobs for less than one year, or recently unemployed. This would appear to be a curious distribution of job tenure until one takes into account the ages of the fathers and their children. The four fathers in their present jobs five to seven years all had their first children in the past three to six years. Of the three fathers with long job tenure, there are three interesting stories. Mr. Farlane has held his present sales job twelve years -- his oldest child, not incidentally is eleven. He has thought occasionally about switching jobs but he never has. He kept thinking, especially early in the marriage just after their first child, "Well, I'm not doing too well now, but I will in the future, as long as I stay with it." The one time he spoke up critically at the company's general sales meeting, he attacked the

company for not maintaining a policy of regular contract renewals -- "I really blasted the company about that point, and I said, 'How do we know that we're gonna get our renewals, it's not in writing.'" He thinks his job was in danger at that point, but he was the leading salesman and that saved him. Now, he thinks, the company operates differently and they want employees to speak their piece. "I like it, I can get up and say what I want to say, and know that I'm not gonna lose my job...at least I think so!"

Mr. Nelson's oldest child is twenty. He has been in his present job ten years -- but switched when he did, not in spite of the need for job security but because of it. He had six children at that point and felt he could no longer rely on the company he worked at which provided very little job security for its white collar employees. He turned back to school teaching, instead. He had left teaching a dozen years before because he needed more money for his family, but now returned to it because, while he took a sharp cut in pay -- more than 20 percent, teacher pay was increasing and job security was excellent.

Mr. Deneux is the third of the long tenured men in our sample. Before this job he had moved from one job to another frequently, and despite having held this job for twelve years, he still thinks of himself as too much of a mover from "one job to another, trying to get ahead." He would hate to leave his present job -- there are the benefits of health insurance and a pension, but most of all the daily reminder in it that he can maintain himself in one place and become well known and respected in his work: "I've made up my mind years ago I would not change this job for any reason."

Mr. Deneux reminds us that the issue of job security is not simple and may be as closely tied to a person's sense of self as to economic needs. The other cases indicate that job security becomes a major concern for a man, sometimes even overriding a concern for income, when he has children. For most of the men in our study, family and children provide not only the primary source of their satisfactions and primary center for their dreams, but also lock them into their present occupations and employers. Work life and home life, we could say, are not simply "connected" but interlocked.

Women at Work: "A Woman's Place..."

Many of the men in our sample have to adjust to the presumption that they will work standard hours, but even more they face in themselves or in others the presumption that they will be the sole providers in their families. The women in our sample are bucking the powerful cultural ideal that women should not work -- especially when their children are preschoolers. Once they have made the choice to work, they face the psychological tension of having violated an important norm and the logistical problem of combining work and family.

The psychological problem for the woman is to reconcile herself to having stepped away from her role as wife and mother. Often she stresses the economic necessity of working -- this is the most unassailable explanation for what she, or others important to her, may regard as unusual behavior for a woman. Those others, as we shall see, may include her husband, her children, and her relatives and in-laws.

For her husband, there is also a psychological problem. He may feel belittled by his wife's working, since it seems to reflect on his competence as a provider. He may feel baffled or betrayed by the woman whose role, he had supposed, was to be wholly wife and mother, his comfort and his children's teacher. Thus he may be inclined to discount the pecuniary reasons for her work, or to prod her to quit working, or else to regard her work as a temporary stage in family life that, when things are more ideal, will pass. Thus there is a tug-of-war between two explanations for the working woman. The pressures of the conventional female role may lead the woman to emphasize economic necessity as a reason for working while the pressures of the conventional male role should lead the man to underplay the economic rationale for his wife's work. This may help explain why, in a number of the families, economic necessity is cited as the reason the woman began to work, but other satisfactions in the work are more commonly mentioned as reasons she continues.

The economic need, of course, is real. Half the women in our sample cited financial need as the leading, and sometimes the only, reason they went to work or returned to work soon after pregnancies. Mrs. Deneux believes that ninety-nine percent of all working wives and mothers work primarily for the money. She may not be far wrong: more than 80 percent of married working women in a 1965 national survey in England mentioned financial motivation for work.[8] In a survey in 1971 in Detroit, 89% of women surveyed thought money to be the main reason a woman would work -- 54% mentioned money alone.[9]

Still, there are other attractions to working. In the English survey "a desire for company" and the 'wish to escape boredom' were especially important.[10] In the Detroit survey, "to get out of the house" was a leading reason, cited three times as often as "the work itself."[11] This seems to be in keeping with what the families in our sample told us. Even the women who most strongly stressed the economic motivation for going to work in the first place emphasize other reasons for continuing to work. These tend to focus on the pleasures of getting out of the house and away from the children for at least a little while each week. Mrs. Sedman likes best getting away from the kids. Mrs. Long would keep on working part-time, even if she were a millionaire, to get out of the house: "I think I'd go crazy being at home all the time. I noticed that one year when I was home with Jason," she told us, 'you lose contact...you forget how to talk to people...I'd always like to work part-time." Mrs. Wyatt, who did not work for over six years, was impelled back to work for similar reasons: "I felt like I was getting to the point where I felt like I couldn't carry on a decent conversation with anybody over six years old.' Another mother, when asked what she liked about her job, replied, "Nothing," and then, on second thought, added, "I like getting out of the house. I like the money. Right now it's a money thing. And it's sort of therapy -- I'm getting out of the after four years and I love it!" Still another mother, asked what she liked least about her work, replied, "The work. You know, nobody likes to work. When you think about it, nobody likes to work." What she did enjoy was getting away from the children, "getting out of each other's nerves for awhile."

But this is by no means an exclusively 'negative" motivation. Mrs. Henry feels her working brings her closer to her children: 'It made me closer to them. When I was away, I missed them and they missed me. Then when we got together again, it was better." Nor is it an exclusively home-centered motivation: "getting out of the home" takes on a more positive aspect when the women discuss the adult social contacts work leads them to. Mrs. Deneux is regularly on the phone during the day with friends from work. Mrs. Sedman leaves for work early each work night to have coffee with friends at work, a pleasure unavailable to her at home because her husband doesn't drink coffee or tea. Their work provides these women with stimulation, variety, social contacts, and independence from the sometimes confining walls of home.

Still, particular jobs the wives choose are more likely than the husbands' to be chosen because of the hours offered. The wife's work hours revolve around the husband's and the necessities of household and child care. Perhaps the extreme instance of this in our sample is Mrs. Samuels who has been turned down for positions because her husband is in the armed services and is likely to be transferred without much notice. Mrs. Farlane cannot advance as a nurse because she can only work part-time. Mrs. Henry must work a factory job which offers night hours. Mrs. Hunt will only accept night employment so she can care for her children during the day and, for the moment, this prevents her from getting further schooling she would like. Mrs. Sedman sought night employment because her husband was asleep as early as the children to get up for his early morning rounds.

Mrs. Nelson works weekends, the only time her husband is available to be at home with the children. Mrs. Raymond chose the first job she took becuase of its location and the freedom she had on the job -- "I could keep in contact with the house."

Again, this is not to say there are not intrinsic rewards for women working. Mrs. Raymond also mentioned the challenge and stimulation of her work and the chance it gave her for "an outside social life." Several of the women -- notably Mrs. Parks who helps administer a day care center and Mrs. Tilman who works at a social service agency in administration -- are most enthusiastic about their work. Mrs. Raymond has plans to start a business of her own, while Mrs. Wyatt feels a real personal investment in her full-time job at the insurance agency.

What we may conclude about the work satisfaction of these women is that it appears that not only income, important as that is, but the need for some personal space independent from house and family lead them to the job market, or else keep them in it once there, despite the special difficulties they face. Conventional attitudes and practices -- their own and those of employers, not to mention overt discrimination, limit the job possibilities available to them. The greater importance of the husbands' jobs in these families limits the hours they can choose. And their primary commitment to care for the children either limits the kinds of jobs they can or will take, or sometimes makes it more difficult for them to be satisfied in the jobs they do have. The latter is well illustrated by Mrs. Farlane whose job as a nurse became more difficult

after the hospital changed from religious to lay administration: 'When the nuns were running the hospital, it was much easier. Because we were always told that the nuns understood. If we came there the nuns knew our families came first and the job second. Without the nuns there and the lay people in charge, the director of nurses does not have that feeling -- in fact, she has very little feeling for families.'

In most of these families, husbands have made accomodation to their wives' working. It is not always easy, and the fact that it is accommodation, not conviction, is just below the surface, evident in the contradictory feelings the husbands express. At one point, Mr. Hunt calls his wife's working a major change in his life: "It's put restrictions on me," he says, though he adds, "the ones she's always had on her." But then he goes on to say: 'She's had the kids all day. When I come home, she resigns and I take over. So the fact that she's gone (to work) really doesn't matter." He approves of her working, but one of their biggest fights in the last year came when she wanted to work more and he felt three nights was plenty. Mr. Sedman says at one point that he "loved it" when his wife went to work. On the other hand, he also hopes to get a second job: "If I get another part-time job, she's gonna quit hers." "Maybe," he adds, thinking forward to his own second job, "she won't have to work -- so that we can attend PTA meetings when they are at night." In ten years he thinks and hopes, his wife won't be working.

Mr. Long believes the man should be the family's provider. "I still don't feel that a woman could, ought to, go out and work and make as much money as a man." These are feelings he is struggling with. He insists that he could support the family on his income alone -- Mrs. Long, he assures us, does not have to work. And he would still rather have her home than working. "But now," he observes, "lots of married women with kids are working." He can see that and he suspects it may be good for the children not to be around their mother constantly. And he knows Mrs. Long would feel cooped up if she did not get out to work.

Mrs. Raymond says of her husband, "He would prefer to have me home barefoot and pregnant." She laughs but adds, "Really, he would prefer to have me home." She thinks his objections to her working come out in occasional hostility and anger, 'and you just have to deal with it."

Mr. Deneux, like Mr. Long and Mr. Sedman, acknowledges advantages to his wife's working -- it is a help financially and she enjoys it -- but, ideally he feels she would not be working.

The Samuels family illustrates the same ambivalence. Mr. Samuels says that his wife does not enjoy her work. "It's more of a necessity that she work than that she likes to work." On the other hand, he believes that "she does want to do something -- it's finding what she wants to do that's hard." While he thinks of her present work as an economic necessity, he later remarks that her contribution to the family income is negligible: "it just kind of puts a cushion on the thing." Whatever it is at present, he does not think it will make a

difference in our life style." He is the breadwinner and would like to remain so.

If Mr. Samuels, like many of the other men in our sample, seemed ambivalent to us, he seemed no less uneasy to his wife. At one point she tells us, "I think he likes me to work. Because I want to work," but she can turn around to observe, "Sometimes I think he'd like me to stay home all the time. Because he likes me to have dinner ready when he comes home. He likes to have somebody get up and fix breakfast. He likes someone to pick up and keep the house clean. He doesn't like those jobs." Other women observe the conflict in their husbands, too, like Mrs. Wyatt: "As much as he says he doesn't mind me working, I know he does." Early in their marriage Mrs. Hunt's financial contribution to the family was more crucial than it is now and Mr. Hunt may have resented that: "I think maybe he did a little, it never came out in the open, but I think he did."

So whatever guilt the women feel in going to work away from the role as wife and mother, is reinforced by the men's often unintentional or even unconscious discomfort with their wives' working. The men's objections are sometimes as clear and practical as those of Mr. Samuels or Mr. Wyatt who resist the demands placed upon them for taking more household responsibility when their wives are at work. More often, the men's objections seem more psychologically and culturally rooted in images of themselves as breadwinners and images of their wives as properly staying at home. Even the practical objections are culturally tinted. The men do not recoil at demands on their

time, for many of them work long hours or take on second jobs without complaint, but squirm at demands that they do 'women's work." Even here we need to qualify, as the essay on allocation of household chores indicates -- men are more likely to help at more pleasurable "women's work" than at its drudgery.

The husbands are not alone in intensifying the conflict the women feel about going to work. Many of the children object to their mother's working, though in no case did the families consider this a serious problem. Still, it must leave a mark on Mrs. Sedman to hear her children say "please don't go, mommy" when she leaves for work. Or for Mrs. Farlane to listen to her youngest cry when she goes to the door and to see how all the kids want to kiss her before she leaves. This may be mitigated by the fact that her children are proud she is a nurse and they talk about it with kids on the block. Mrs. Henry's 3 year old sometimes says to her, "Mommy, don't go to work" although, Mrs. Henry insists she seems very good about it for her age. Mrs. Wyatt's youngest went through a period of acting like a baby when she first went back to work, but she ignored it, and he stopped doing it. Mrs. Samuels' daughter was upset at first when she was left with the babysitter in the morning, but it has become matter of fact for her now. While Mrs. Raymond did not have such experience directly with her children, the difficulties for a mother in our society leaving her children to go to work are illuminated by a story she told. She felt very insecure about leaving her children. She drove her daughter to the preschool one day when the daughter, apprehensive about a new teacher, kept

on talking to her. Mrs. Raymond tried to reassure her at the same time that she tried to explain that she had to get on to her job. Because, finally, she was late getting away from the school, she drove too fast and had an accident. 'Mothers go through it much more than any other group on the earth," she said. "They are constantly pushed. It is just a different kind of feeling. It is also a lack of concentration because your mind is working on usually three or four different things.'

Not only must women face their children's feelings about their work, and their own insecurity about it, but they inevitably listen to others who frown upon women working. Mrs. Farlane recalls that her father believed her mother should be at home with the kids and disapproved of her aunt who had a full-time job. Mr. Henry feels that his wife's relatives have given him 'the down look" about her working. Mr. Wyatt takes a lot of ribbing from his fellow workers about his wife's working, but desnite his own ambivalence, he defends her to them, saying, X "You have to give her credit, at least she's not hanging around the house." Mrs. Raymond thinks her father disapproves of her working and her mother is, at best, ambivalent.

The pressures are not all against the working woman, of course. The presence of models of working women in the contemporaneous generation makes things easier for husband and wife. Many of Mr. Long's workmates have wives who work and they do not look down on it. Models of working women in the previous generation have a more mixed effect. Mrs. Hunt's mother worked part-time all of her marriage and encouraged her daughter to work, too. On the other hand, Mrs.

Sedman's mother worked and so would often be sleeping when she and her siblings came home after school, and that is an unpleasant memory for her. "I don't want to put my kids through what I had to contend with."[12]

The pressure to keep the woman at home seems to be more a cultural reflex than a practical concern that her working will be bad for the children. Mr. Henry would ask his wife to stop working if he thought the kids weren't acting normal, but he's had no evidence of that. Indeed, some families find real value in the mother's being away. Mr. Hunt thinks "it's good for the kids not to be around us all the time." Mrs. Long feels her work improves her relations with her kids -- they're not on each other's nerves so much.

We should not move on without observing that a few of the families in the sample are rather sharply distinguished from the others in that the women have a strength and belief in the importance of working. A number of women may like their work, gain confidence from bringing money into the house (though no one mentioned this in so many words), gain confidence from talking and acting as an adult in a work role rather than as a playmate to preschoolers. But though they would feel a loss if they stopped working, they would not feel as if they had failed an important ideal. Mrs. Raymond and Mrs. Wyatt might and Mrs. Tilman and Mrs. Parks surely would. They would not just feel cooped up or depressed -- they would feel defeated, they would feel they were doing something wrong. They are buoyed not only by a zest for the work they do but by beliefs in the equal

potential of men and women that strengthens their faith in themselves.

For Mrs. Wyatt and Mrs. Raymond, whose husbands are ambivalent about their wives' feminist beliefs, this may be difficult. Mr. Wyatt does not like his wife's working and she philosophically observes, "He will be slow to give in." Mr. Raymond objected to his wife's working though less so when it was clear they could use the money.

The Tilmans and the Parks are quite different. These are families where the husbands share the feminist ideal, no more naturally or instinctively than their wives, but willingly. Household chores and child care in these families are fully mutual, even to the point where in the Parks family the words "Mommy" and "Daddy" are seldom used and the child calls his parents by their first names. In the Tilman family, it is the same, and while their son has learned at day care about "firemen", Mrs. Tilman tries hard to convince her child that the term is "fireperson." One may of course be skeptical about the value of linguistic or other contortions in the service of non-sexist child rearing, but there is no question about the courage of these families in their self-conscious efforts to liberate themselves and their children from the weight of the past. Both families are especially sensitive about the division of labor between husband and wife in the household and helped us understand the cultural limits of our own preconcentions about this. One family led us to see the distinction between "task sharing" and "role sharing" (see essay on this); the other observed that we had a male-centered

view of "repair work" in the household chore checklist we asked them to fill out -- we lumped repair work with yard work and gardening, ignoring such activities as sewing and mending.

In the other families, the wife's work, important as it may be to her mental health and to the economic well-being of the family, comes second to her husband's. Mrs. Long skips work rather than have her husband get up to drive her to work when he has been doing overtime; because she is married with children she wants only to work part-time. Other women choose the working schedules they do to fit them to the primary realities of the husband's hours and the needs of child care: Mrs. Jackson changed her nursing schedule from morning shift to afternoon when her children were wetting their beds and she needed to be home to change them: Mrs. Sedman sought night work because of the children: Mrs. Deneux can't work away from home nights because her husband does, doesn't want to leave the kids during the day, and so works at home nights as a keypuncher on a rented machine.

In the Tilman and Parks families, this is quite different. It is not possible to tell whose job, husband's or wife's, is more important. Both families, we should add, are distinguished in that they are the second generation, at least, of highly educated people. Mrs. Tilman's father was a lawyer, Mr. Tilman's a doctor; Mrs. Parks' father was a chaplain, Mr. Parks' father a salesman with two years of college. These four 'grandfathers" are the four most highly educated grandfathers in our entire sample. And three of the four grandmothers in these families were college graduates who worked

full-time throughout their marriages -- as nurse, teacher, and school principal. The fourth of the grandmothers also worked full-time in a responsible clerical job. Just what difference all this makes is not clear. But surely it appears that the complex of attitudes about work and home and family that characterizes most of our sample is strikingly different in the families that come from and are continuing in professional occupations and upper middle class life styles.

Long Term Coordination of Home Life and Work Life

The temporal organization of family life that this essay has focused on has been the daily cycle. But there is also a weekly cycle, a seasonal cycle, and a longer term organization of past and present and future in each family. All of these have some impact on the coordination of home life and family life. In the weekly cycle, for instance, Mr. Farlane makes adjustments to the fact that his wife works two nights a week. On one of those evenings he continues to go to his sports night and hires a sitter; on the other night he arranges to be home even though it is a time he would rather keep free for seeing customers. There is a seasonal cycle to family life when there is a seasonal cycle to work: In the Deneux family, Mr. Deneux has a much freer summer schedule and so the tensions in the family accounted for by his working hours are relieved. In the Wyatt family, Mr. Wyatt is more helpful in child care in winter when the rate of construction work drops, and so they do not hire the sitter they use summers.

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There is more to be said about long term coordination of work and home. All of the families we studied have preschool children and so the rhythm of their life at present is clearly temporary. Caring for children will change in a few years, but the care of children seems to be more experienced than planned and the families spoke little of how they expected their lives to change when their children were in school (with exceptions, as always, like Mr. Long who was concerned about changing his work schedule when the children started school).

Some aspects of life at present may be more tolerable for these families because they are understood to be temporary. They are making sacrifices now for the future. The more evident the sacrifice and the more assured they are of a better (economic) future, the better articulated is their sense of present deprivation. The Deneux, Henrys, Longs, Sandles, and Hunts all long for a house of their own. (The three renting families in the sample without such a longing are the Samuels whose armed forces affiliation makes permanent settlement unrealistic; the Parks, who are financially light years from imagining it with Mr. Parks still a student; and the Tilmans where Mr. Tilman has just begun his professional career.) Mr. Long says that buying a house is his "main aim," but he adds, "it's tough, I can't understand how some people can afford it." The Hunts won't have another child until they have their own house, and Mrs. Deneux wishes now

that they had worked longer and bought a house of their own before having children. The Longs express the same view. However, the Henry's were pleased when they had their 1st child four years after their marriage, even though they were not yet able to afford to buy their own house. Still Mrs. Henry's relatives see their renting status as a large step down in the world. "My biggest problem," she says, "is to be able to have a home."

Managing Complicated Lives

It impressed us early on that these families showed such resourcefulness in organizing their time, work, and family responsibilities. In some families, this seems to require split-second coordination. The Sandles have worked out such a system as described in the essay on parenting.

The Raymond family may represent a contrasting image. Where the Sandle family has a very structured routine, the Raymonds give one a sense of extraordinary casualness. Mr. Raymond, of course, is unavailable most of the day because of his long working hours. Mrs. Raymond's work does not take too many hours nor does it take her vary far from home. Still, she has organized the household and entrusted her children with enough responsibility so that the house runs more or less by itself -- food is in the refrigerator for the children to help themselves to their meals; the door is always open so they don't need to remember keys; and grandmother is just a few doors down the block to visit or stay with. Never-

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theless, even the Raymonds have moments of precision planning. The night before one of the interviews, the day care center had a parents' meeting. Mr. Raymond had arranged to go out with a friend, so he could only go the first half of the meeting; Mrs. Raymond had arranged to go swimming, so she could only attend the second half. Together they had it covered. Not all of the families are as well able to coordinate their lives as the Sandles or the Raymonds, but most of them manage surprisingly well.

What may be most striking in retrospect is not that these families adjust to difficult constraints on their time, but that they do so without complaint. They may actually not perceive the burdens and constraints. They have managed to deal with and overcome. Nursing jobs with regular hours are not easy to come by -- but Mrs. Sandle found one. Finding work that pays a relatively unskilled person that can be done around the house is not easy to come by -- but Mrs. Deneux keypunches at home.

Conclusion - The Satisfactions at Work and at Home

The relationship between the worlds of work and family is a complicated one. Jules Henry caught something important in Culture Against Man when he saw the American family as "shaped in large part by the industrial system" in which people seek to compensate for the anxieties and "personality deprivations" of the occupational world in the family. The occupational world creates feelings of inadequacy; it is within the family that the members attempt to prove themselves adequate.[14/] In terms of the men in our sample,

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this overreaches the mark. Mr. Deneux, for instance, gets great satisfaction out of his work -- out of being with people all day and out of the regard which assures him he is doing his work well. Mr. Raymond is working a demanding schedule on the docks, but speaks of his work with considerable relish -- it is new to him and he is clearly enjoying his rapid accumulation of knowledge and skills in handling the work. Mr. Long can't think of anything he would change about his job -- every night he finds something different, there is always something to keep him interested and alert. Still, Henry's observation is consistent with more recent studies from England by Goldthrope and Young and Willmot[15/] and evidence from our own sample that men in contemporary industrial culture seek their primary emotional, personal, and spiritual gratification in the family setting. Many of the men in our sample showed greatest pride and emotion in speaking of their wives, the quality of their marriage, or their pride in their children. And, much more than we would have anticipated (see essays on allocation of responsibilities and non-parental child care), they expressed this in terms of real participation in child care and household chores.

What is more obviously missing in Henry's account is the fact that for women, the family setting may not be only the primary source of personal gratification but also the primary source of "personality deprivations" and "feelings of inadequacy." For them, staying at home with children all day long is a source, not the escape, of feelings of inadequacy. And for them, the anxieties and

deprivations engendered by the home are in some measure compensated for by stepping into a work setting, industrial or otherwise, even if the job is relatively repetitious and even if it offers relatively little autonomy. If the importance men place on their roles as husbands and fathers is often drastically underestimated by both cultural stereotypes and by critics of the culture, so is the satisfaction of the life of the full-time wife and mother often drastically exaggerated. Why this is so may be a worthwhile topic for a later essay.

Footnotes

1. Peter Berger, "Some General Observations on the Problem of Work' in Peter Berger, ed., The Human Shape of Work (New York: MacMillan, 1964) p. 213.

2. For a fascinating discussion of clocks, watches, and industrialization, see E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," Past and Present, no. 38, 1967, pp 60-80.

3. For a discussion of the movement from industrial to post-industrial society, or factory-based to service-based society, see Daniel Bell, The Coming of Post-Industrial Society (New York: Basic Books, 1973) and Michael Young and Peter Willmott, The Symmetrical Family, pp 65-100. For comment and data from England on the variety of work schedules in the present economy, see Michael Young and Peter Willmott, The Symmetrical Family (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973) pp 175-203.

4. Young and Willmott, p 175.

5. Even though shift work in the working class and unusual hours in white collar workers are increasingly common, cultural stereotypes, social institutions, and personal expectations have not yet adjusted to this. See Young and Willmott, pp 183-188.

6. See the essay on "Pressures, Motivations, and Satisfactions" for further illustration of this point.

7. For a fuller discussion of housework, see the essay on "Allocation."

8. Young and Willmott, p 102.

9. Otis Dudley Duncan, Howard Schuman, and Beverly Duncan, Social Change in a Metropolitan Community (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1973) p 23.

10. Young and Willmott, p 103.

11. Duncan, Schuman, and Duncan, p 23.

12. All told, over half of the mothers of mothers in our sample worked, and exactly half of the mothers of the fathers. See Chart III.

13. Jules Henry, Culture Against Man (New York: Random House, 1963) p 129.

14. Young and Willmott, ibid and J.E. Goldthorpe

Chart I: Husbands at Work

	Service and Professional	Industrial
9 - 5 Hours	draftsman - Tilman businessman - Hunt	
Irregular Hours	transportation worker - Long recreation manager - Deneux policeman - Wyatt maintenance worker - Sedman school teacher - Nelson salesman - Farlane maintenance worker - Henry Navy - Samuels student - Parks student - Sandle	factory worker - Jackson dock worker - Raymond

Away from Home Evenings	At Home Days
Long	Long
Deneux	Deneux
Sedman	Sedman
	Parks

Away from Home Some Evenings	At Home Some Days
Wyatt	Wyatt
Nelson	
Samuels	
Parks	

Chart II: Wives at Work

	Service and Professional	Industrial
9 - 5 Hours	administration - Tilman secretary - Wyatt	
Irregular Hours	nurse - Farlane nurse - Jackson nurse - Nelson day care - Samuels keypunch - Hunt keypunch - Sedman keypunch - Long typist - Deneux saleswoman - Raymond administration - Parks	factory worker - Henry

Full Time (30 or more hours)	Part Time
Tilman	Nelson
Wyatt	Long
Deneux	Raymond
Henry	Farlane
Sandle	Hunt
	Sedman
	Parks
	Samuels
	Jackson

Away from Home Evenings	Away from Home Days
Hunt	Sandle
Sedman	Tilman
Long	Wyatt
Henry	

Chart III: Educational Level of Grandparental Generation (Grandfathers)

Both grandfathers college educated: Parks
Tilman

One grandfather with college education:

Both grandfathers with high school diploma: Deneux

One grandfather with high school diploma: Samuels
Henry
Nelson
Hunt
Raymond
Sandle

Both grandfathers with less than high school diploma: Farlane
Long
Jackson

Insufficient data: Sedman
Wyatt

Work Experience of Grandparental Generation (Grandmothers)

Both grandmothers worked more or less throughout married life: Sandle
Samuels
Hunt
Tilman
Parks
Sedman

Only mother's mother worked: Deneux
Farlane

Only father's mother worked: Raymond

Neither grandmother worked: Henry
Nelson
Wyatt
Long*
Jackson

* Mr. Long's mother worked after she was widowed.

Chart IV: Education Level of Families

Both parents college graduates:	Nelson Parks Tilman Farlane Sandle
Both parents high school graduates, one or both with some college:	Jackson Samuels Hunt Long Raymond
Both parents high school graduates:	Wyatt Deneux
Mother high school graduate, father not high school graduate:	Sedman Henry

Total Work Hours in Paid Labor Force Per Family Per Week

Nelson:	Fa 57 Mo 16 73	Tilman:	Fa 43 Mo 30 73	Samuels:	Fa 40 (?) Mo 28 68
Long:	Fa 43 Mo 12 55	Parks:	Fa 35* Mo 18 53	Farlane	Fa 30 (?) Mo 15 45
Deneux:	Fa 45 Mo 25 75	Wyatt:	Fa 40 Mo 40 80	Sedman:	Fa 30 Mo 20 50
Henry:	Fa 48 Mo 30 78	Raymond:	Fa 55 Mo 10 65	Hunt:	Fa 40 Mo 25 65
Sandle:	Fa 40* Mo 43 83	Jackson:	Fa 43** Mo 24 67		

* Estimated time at school and studying, not paid work.
** Most recent job, now unemployed.

Conclusion

One of the pioneers of family psychotherapy, Dr. Nathan Ackerman, has written of the family as a "semi-permeable membrane" engaged in a constant interchange with its environment. The image, with its suggestion of both fragility and toughness, fits our emerging picture of the working family. Even in the modern welfare state, the family retains primary responsibility for supplying and allocating the material necessities of life to its members. It is still the family which provides the growth space for the formation of the character of the young, patterning sexual roles and supervising the integration of children into social tasks. But family life cannot remain untouched by the tempo of change in modern American life. Many women and men are grappling with cultural definitions of the roles of spouse and parent. In some of our families, the issues had arisen before the woman began to work outside the home. In others, traditional assumptions about the proper tasks and responsibilities for men and women are called into question when the woman, a wife and mother and housekeeper, begins to work. This decision to work appears to set in motion certain processes, or to intensify those already begun, that will alter the relationship between man and woman, as spouses and as parents. Moreover, as the family system is "semi-permeable", changes in its internal dynamics will alter as well its transactions with the outside, specifically in relations with kin. The aim of this report has been to give a tentative and introductory description of some of those changes.

What, then, are some of the conclusions we can draw from a study such as this? We should recall the example of the Mulla Nasruddin and the shopkeeper from the Introduction. His example cautions us about generalizing any findings here to all families of working couples. This research has been exploratory, and any conclusions must be appropriately tentative. At best they may suggest issues for further study. Our decision to write topical essays in which, inevitably, the distinctiveness of the different families in the study blurs and possible explanations for the differences are partially obscured, reflects our desire to pose general questions. Still, we do so with a sample deliberately kept small (we have complete data on fourteen families). We do so without a control group. But given the complexity and diversity of family processes under study, it is difficult to know what one might try to control for. At this stage of exploratory research, it seems better to look carefully at the experiences of the families. Later inquiry may try to separate out important variables and to frame specific hypotheses.

It is important to bear these caveats in mind when interpreting any conclusions, however tentative, of this study. But because the significance of the caveats may not be immediately apparent, we should state them another way: it may be useful to reiterate what we did not study.

a. We have not made any systematic contrast between work and non-work families, that is, between dual-work families, and families in which only the man is employed. In that sense, there is no

"baseline" against which to assess the significance of those processes of change we discuss. It would seem that the most useful kind of baseline would be the families themselves, before and after the wife began to work. We have preliminary but incomplete data on this. Where possible, we have discussed it in the chapters, but we haven't dealt with it systematically.

b. Our discussion of work has emphasized the woman's job more than the man's. This seems acceptable, given our focus on the changes in family process and child care when the woman is employed. Primarily for reasons of space, we have chosen to concentrate on the problems of scheduling and its consequences. We have dealt only cursorily with issues of job satisfaction of both husband and wife, because we hope a future study can look much more closely at this.

c. Our treatment of day care centers is not as extensive as we had originally planned. As the research program developed, we decided it would be more profitable at this stage to focus on attitudes and processes within the family as they relate to expressed attitudes toward out-of-home child care arrangements. But in no way have we systematically examined all the factors that lead a family to decide on child care arrangements. That is easily a study in its own right -- one we hope to undertake in the future -- and at a minimum would require much closer attention to sources of parental attitudes and to the particular "sub-culture" with which parents see themselves as allied or opposed to.

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These families are mobile in more ways than one. Many are actively striving to improve their social and economic status. Indeed, the decision for the wife to work is often justified by the couple as providing a needed supplement to the family income. The families tend not to be intimately involved in a web of kinship with its duties and privileges. However, a surprisingly large proportion of our sample have lived as a couple at one time or another with parents, especially in the period immediately following marriage or child birth. But independence is prized: even those who keep up extensive contact with relatives do not generally want kin to advise them in the raising of their children, though they may occasionally turn to kin for assistance. Even the more "radical" or "ideological" of the families felt that the nuclear family has primary responsibility for rearing the child. The parents have the central role, although grandparents and other kin may be supportive, often in important ways. In moments of crisis or transition, relatives, especially parents, are a source of counsel and practical assistance for the couple.

The geographical distances separating our couples from their own parents and older relatives is often exceeded by the psychological gulf between them. Those families of origin in which the mother did work are not necessarily regarded favorably in the light of memory. Several participants (both men and women) whose mothers had worked had mixed or negative feelings about the experience, expressing doubt or uncertainty that a working woman could also be a full time mother. And yet, the influence of the family of

origin remains strong. Whatever their feelings about their own upbringing, the fathers and mothers in our families orient themselves either positively or negatively with regard to their own early experience of family life. The family of origin is the family of orientation and as such is the primary source of those tenacious images of the responsibilities and behaviors felt to be appropriate to the man and woman as spouse and as parent.

The resourcefulness these families demonstrate in budgeting their time and emotional energy is striking. Several of the sample families are able to manage the work schedules of husband and wife so they share responsibility for the children without outside help. This staggering of work schedules seems to be the single most common child care strategy, although sometimes it is used in conjunction with other arrangements. The exchange of child care services with neighbors is another alternative and in several instances, very important. Here too, though, neighborly cooperation is felt to be quite subsidiary to the arrangements worked out within the family itself. The feelings of caution, even suspicion, of full-time day care service, expressed by several couples in the interviews add strength to this impression. Some parents were quite adamant in their rejection of day care; for them, the parents have sole responsibility for care-taking and socializing their children. Others were skeptical of the quality of available care, and worried about the new environment the children will face. Those who were most enthusiastic about paid day care arrangements tended to be

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those families had an ideology, or set of beliefs that embraced more cooperative child care. The arguments of such families emphasize what they felt were the advantages of out-of-home opportunities for their children to develop social and cognitive skills.

Thus, one of the initial working hypotheses of this pilot study appears partially disconfirmed from the evidence of our sample. We had assumed that the pressures of work and scheduling, as well as of emotional energy, would push middle income working couples, as it has many professional working couples, toward considering full or part time day care, even if they were not enthusiastic supporters of it. Although quality day care is expensive, we felt that it might under these circumstances appear attractive. This may be partly true -- several families wary of day care nonetheless tried it. But they did not persist, and an interesting question is why some families keep on with day care and others quickly abandon it. The families who do not use day care have taught us how many alternatives there are to it.

The effects of the decision to maintain primary if not exclusive control over child care are widespread in the family system. Because work schedules are staggered, the couple can spend less time together, and often the time in which the whole family is together is correspondingly diminished. We make no argument that the amount of time as such is central; studies have shown that the quality of mothering, for instance, is relatively independent of the sheer amount of time the mother is with the child. Indeed, several mothers

in our sample emphasized that they were more able to respond to their children when they had been away from them for part of the day. Nevertheless, the juggling of schedules is experienced as strain in all the families.

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Being a working mother is not easy. Mothers with young children are entering the labor force in increasing numbers, but the cultural images from the past are still potent. These women constantly encounter (or believe they encounter, which amounts to the same thing) a tacit reproach. Some of the working mothers in the study are caught in a bind of cultural expectations, or "role strain." As these women explain it, the working mother is made to feel that she is not only challenging her husband as the breadwinner, but necessarily is neglecting her primary responsibility as homemaker and mother. The psychological pressure of these images and assumptions on the working mother should not be underestimated, particularly if they are reinforced on a daily basis by her own upbringing, her husband, her relatives, and the wider social environment. Small wonder, then, that so many of the mothers characterize themselves as "nervous," "irritable," "angry," or "short-tempered."

The consequences of the decison of the wife to work extend to the relations between the spouses. Ambivalence on the part of the husband appeared time and again in our contact with the families. Husbands, too, are subject to the pressures of a society and a self image that insist on the male role of material provider for his family. In cultural terms, the authority of the male is

validated by his duties as provider. Among the husbands in our sample, we find a wide range of responses to their wives' employment. Some resent and mistrust it, feeling her work as a threat to their own position in the household. They may the necessity of her working, but often by means of a set of rationalizations. Some of the men justify her employment as supplying supplementary income, or as vital for her own contentment. Almost in the same breath, they deprecate her financial contribution to the family budget and express their concern about the effect of her absence on the children. Some emphasize the temporary nature of the current arrangements, even as their wives tell the interviewer how essential it is to them to get out of the world of home and children for a few hours each day.

With the wife out of the home for part of the day, or as often happens, for the evenings, the husband finds himself responsible for many child care tasks. Several of the husbands in our sample have discovered, sometimes to their own surprise, that they enjoy [illegible] time with the children and the added sense of more actively participating in their development. In fact, some have found that they are skilled and competent in these tasks. It is interesting to compare the appraisals of the husband's performance on the part of each spouse. One pattern that appeared in several of the families was a tendency for both husbands and wives to praise the husband's talents in child care. Both wives and husbands concurred that the wife was often irritable and short-tempered in contrast with the patience of the husband.

This image of the "irritable" wife and mother, shared by a number of our couples, goes deeper than simple cultural stereotyping of the "emotional woman" versus the quietly competent man. We have seen how the double pressures of work and child care are intensified by the cultural expectation that a woman's place is still primarily in the home. There is evidence to indicate that one response of the working mother is to accept all these discrepant evaluations and then try frantically to reconcile them through her actions. In effect, she tries to become "supermom," placing severe demands on herself to be a loving wife and mother and a first-rate housekeeper, so that she can feel justified in taking on an outside job. The pressures themselves conspire to mask her awareness of the kind of psychological strain which she is subject to. For many of these women the decision to work is fraught with anxiety, over and beyond normal job-connected worries. Constantly, they ask themselves, "Can I hold a job and still be a good wife and mother?" They may see themselves as anxious and on edge, and yet often they do not acknowledge the source of their "irritability."

Much of this report on working couples and their families has focused on processes of change and transformation. Change is never easy: cherished patterns and traditional expectations are often resistant to the new and different requirements of modern family life. It would be a serious mistake, though, to take away from this report an image of these families as tension-ridden or troubled. On the contrary, the research staff has been impressed in all our

contacts with these families by their openness, competence and generally optimistic approach to the challenges of work and child raising. Their interest in the project and research has been genuine; their courtesy and good humor toward interviewers and observers unflagging. They have given generously of their time and attention, which are precious commodities for these families, as this report documents. They have welcomed the staff into their homes and spoken candidly and honestly about their lives, their hopes and fears. Without trust and respect on both sides, research such as this would be impossible. We bring this report to a close with a last observation: contrary to the doomsayers, these families demonstrate a resiliency and dignity, which, from our evidence, seems to augur well for the future.

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APPENDICES

to

Work and Family Life

National Institute of Education

Project No. 3-3094

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WIFE'S INTERVIEW

I'd like to start by asking you some questions about your education and work experience:

Education and Work Experience

1. When you were in school, did you think about working? About the kind of work you wanted to do?

   Do you think your education prepared you very well for working?

   Did you plan to work pretty much throughout your life?

   Did you think about combining work and family?

   Did your parents have ideas about what women in general or you especially should do about work? What did your mother think? Your father?

   I see you were in school thru _____ (grade)(degree).

   What did you think about school?

   (Like or dislike, anxious or confident, want more schooling or had enough...)

   If you were to get any more education, do you think it would help you in your work or help get a better job? Do you plan more education?

2. What was your first job when you finished school?
   How did you get it?
   How long did you have it?
   Why did you leave?

   What was your next job?
   Were you looking for something different from your previous job? Why?
   How did you like this job?
   What didn't you like?
   Why did you leave?

   Etc.

3. When did you get married?
How did you meet your husband?

Did you work after you were married before your first child was born?
(Why did you leave,
What did you like and dislike about the jobs, etc.
Did the fact that you were married affect the jobs you looked for? How?

What did your husband feel about your working when you were first married?
Did you ever support him?
What did he think about that?

4. What were your feelings about having children?
Did you and your husband discuss if and when you wanted children?
(Touchy question in Catholic households??)

How many children did you want to have before you were married?
Did this change after you were married?
Did it change after your first child? Why?
Do you plan to (hope to) have more children?

What happened with your job when your first child was born?
When did you return to work?
How did you feel about first starting back to work after your child was born?
Were you worried about leaving your child?
In what ways?
Did you talk to anyone about whether or not to go back to work?

I'm interested in how a woman's work experience affects her feelings about having children -- and how having children affects her work.
From your own experience, what would you say about that?

5. I'd like to know more about your present job.
What kind of work are you doing?
Do you work full or part time?
(Hours per day/week?)
Which would you prefer?
Why did you choose this job?
How did you find out about it?

Do you enjoy your job?
What do you like best about it?
What do you enjoy least?

Are there chances for promotion?
Is this important to you?
What could you do to create opportunities for advancement?
Would you change jobs if it meant a better job?

If you and your husband were able to get enough money to live comfortably without working, would you keep working or stop?

What about the people you work with -- do you have things in common with them? What?
Have you become friends with any of them?
Do you see them outside work?
Do you ever discuss child care with them?

If you could change some things about your job, what would you change?

6. The next questions involve the way you and your husband fit your working and the family together?
What does your husband do?
How do you feel about his job?
How does his job affect you and the family?
(Probe: too much time at work
money and moonlighting
exhaustion
distance from home
time out of the city
skills or supplies useful around the house
etc.

How do your kids feel about your husband's work?
How do they feel about yours?
Do you ever talk to them about it?
Have they ever been with you at work?
Have you tried to make any special arrangements because of the way they feel?

In terms of raising a family, taking care of a household, and working, what do you think are the important differences between men and women?

The Day in the Life of

7. Now I would like you to describe a typical day in your house, say yesterday, if that was fairly typical. I'd like to start with the time the first person got up and go thru until the last person went to bed.

Probes: who does what, etc.

Is this typical?
How are weekends different?
How are summers different?

How did you decide who was to do _____ (chore)
Is that how decisions are usually made?
If not, how is this different?

During the day are you usually rushed or do you have enough time?
What things do you have to cut out (or what things would you like to have more time for?)

What are the hardest things to find time to do?

What chores or activities do you have that you would rather not do?
Have you ever tried to figure out ways of avoiding them?

Who do you see/talk to in the course of a day?

Child Care

8. Now I would like to ask some questions about childrearing and child care.

How did you learn about caring for a baby?
Prompt: Dr. Spock, relatives, friends

Did anyone come and help out just after _____ was born? Who? For how long?

What did your husband do in taking care of _____ as a baby?
Prompt: diapers
feeding
bathing
babysitting
Would you have liked him to do more or was he in the way?

What arrangements did you make for _____ to be taken care of while you were working?
How did you find out about this?
How did you choose it?
Did you find it satisfactory?
What didn't you like about it?

Was it difficult to work and have the baby too?
What about with more than one child?

How did you arrange to spend time with _____ when he was little?

9. How did you handle toilet-training?
Did you and your husband talk about it?
Did you talk about it with anyone else?
Who gave you the best advice?
How did you finally handle it?
Did your husband take any part in it?

Same with fighting, feeding, etc. (adolescent - dating)

What things does your husband do especially well with the kids?
Are there any things you would change?
Do you talk about them?
How do you and your husband differ in the way you handle your children? strict-affectionate
Are there things your husband would prefer you did differently?
Do you talk about them?

Tell me more about how you and _____ get along.
What sorts of things do you enjoy about the children?
What things don't you like (do you get on each other's nerves)?

10. Who do you talk to about problems with the children?
    Prompt: physician
    friends
    relatives
    neighbors
    husband
    What would you do if you had a really serious problem?
    (give an example)
    Who do you generally agree with?

11. Do you think boys and girls should be brought up differently?

12. Do you wish you had more time with the kids or do you have enough time?

Friends

Now I'd like to ask some questions about your friends and social life:

13. If you had to pick your five closest friends, who would they be?
    About each one, tell me how you met them?
    How long you've known them?
    How often you see them?
    What things you talk about with them?

    What things do you do together?
    Does your husband know any of them very well?
    Do you ever see her and her husband together with your husband?
    Do you help with each other's children?
    Do you ever help with the neighbor's kids? How often?
    Do you ever entertain friends of yours or your husband's from work?

    Are there friends you have met as a couple?

    Do most of your women friends work?

14. How about relatives?

15. Would you say you have a lot of friends or a close group of friends?

Would you like to spend more time with friends?
What stops you?

Do the five people above know one another?

What hobbies do you have?
What organizations do you belong to? Why?
Do you attend church?
Are you interested in belonging to other organizations?
Do you belong to any political organizations?
Do you follow politics?
What do you think could be done about the energy crisis?

Are there times when your social life and other responsibilities such as work or family conflict? How?
What do you do about it?

Growing Up

In how many times did your parents' family move while you lived with them?
Where did you live?
What kind of a neighborhood was it?
What kind of work did your father do? Your mother?
If mother worked, how did your father feel about that?

How did your parents divide housekeeping and child care responsibilities?
What kinds of things did your family do together?
Did you help out in your family when you were young?
What sorts of things did you do?

What kinds of rules did your family have? About chores, expenditures, leaving the house, etc.
How did you feel about these rules?
How were they determined? (by both parents, children and parents?)
What happened if you broke a rule?

How did you get along with your sisters and brothers?
Did you spend a lot of time with them?
Would you say your parents spent a lot of time with relatives?
with friends?
Did they spend most of their time with the family?
Is this similar to the way your family is?

Did your parents ever disagree about how to bring up children?
What did they disagree about? How did they resolve this?
Other than your parents, who helped to bring you up?
Prompt: grandparents, aunts, uncles, neighbors
What do you think your parents hoped you would do with your life?
What did you like about your family?
What things didn't you like about your family?
How is your present family different than the one you grew up in?
Have you done this on purpose?

Did your parents consult a pediatrician?
Is this different from the way you use a pediatrician?

17. Now I want to end by asking you some general questions about family life:

a. What things are you especially proud of in your family?
What are the biggest problems?
What changes would you like to make in your own role as wife? Mother?
What changes would you like to make in your husband?

b. In what ways are your children especially like you?
How are they different from you?
In what things would you like them to be more like you?
In what less like you?

c. How do you think the family has changed in the last generation or two?
How do you feel about these changes?
How do you see your own family in relation to these changes?

d. How about your children?
How do you think their family life will be different than yours?
How will daughters be different than sons?
What sorts of things do you hope your children will do when they grow up?

e. Do you think your family is like most other families?
How do you think it is different?

HUSBAND'S INTERVIEW

1. Education and Work.

To start the interview, I want to ask some questions about your educational and your work experience, and about your work in relation to family life.

a. What was your first job?
What did you do after that?
How did you get started in your present line of work?
How long have you been doing it?
Why did you change?
Did your family have any influence in this?

b. Now I'd like to know about your present job.
Could you describe what your present job entails?
What parts of your work do you enjoy most?
What would you change about it if you could?
Are you more likely to get upset at home or at work -- why?

c. How does your wife feel about your work?
Do you talk with your wife about your work?
How about the kids -- what do they know about your job?
Have they ever spent time with you at work?
Does your work ever interfere with your family or social life? How?
What do you do about this?

d. Have you ever considered changing from your present job?
Have you ever felt that your family responsibilities have interferred with changing jobs or taking on new work responsibilities?
Would you stop working if you could afford to?
How do you see yourself in 5 or 10 years?

e. I see you had ____ years of schooling.
Was this about as much schooling as you wanted to get?
When you were in high school, what occupation did you think you'd go into?
Have you ever considered further schooling?

2. Wife's Work.

Now I'd like to ask some questions about your wife's work.

a. Your wife works as a _____.
What do you think your wife enjoys most about working?
What does she worry about the most?
What do you like best about your wife's working?
What things concern you?
Does your wife tell you about her work?
About the people she works with?

b. How does your wife's working affect the family?
Have you considered her not working -- ever discussed it seriously?
What happened after the baby(s) were born?
How important do you feel her contribution to the family income is?
Has your wife ever supported you?

Has your own work life been affected in any way by the fact that your wife works?
(Probe: schedules, career aspirations, etc.)

c. Others' attitudes.
Have you discussed your wife's working with others -- such as friends or relatives?
What were their opinions?

d. Did your work plans and your wife's work plans affect your plans to get married or to have children in any way?

Did you and your wife discuss when you wanted children?
What kinds of factors did you consider?
How many children did you want to have before you were married? Why?
Did this change after you were married? Why?
How did you decide this?

3. Family Life and Typical Day.

Now I want to ask you about your family, and about a typical day in your household.

a. Describe an ordinary day in your household, say yesterday, from when the first person gets up until everyone has gone to bed.

Is this typical? How are weekends different? How are summers different?

What are the hardest things for you to find time for?

b. How did you decide who was to do _____ (pick some chore from typical day)?
Is that how these decisions are usually made?
If not, how is it different?

Have you and your wife's family and household chores changed since you were first married -- how?
How did you decide to make these changes?
How did the children's birth affect this?

c. Infant care.
How often did you participate in _____'s care when he/she was a baby?
(Probe: changing diapers
feeding
bathing
babysitting
How much time did you spend with _____ when he/she was young?
Were these things different for the other kids?

d. Family finances.
How do you work out family finances?
Do you and your wife discuss them regularly?
How about deciding on purchases -- which ones do you talk over together?
Which would you make alone?
Who pays the bills?
Who balances the checkbook?

e. In terms of raising a family, taking care of a household and working, what do you think are the important differences between men and women?

4. Child Care.

a. Tell me about how you and _____ get along.
What sorts of things do you enjoy about _____?
In what ways do you get on each others' nerves?

b. Do you have a special time to be with _____? When?
What do you do during this time?
How do you and your wife arrange time so that you both see _____?
Do you wish you could spend more time with your child?

c. Because both you and your wife work, I guess you have to make some special arrangements for _____'s care.
What do you do?
How do you feel about these arrangements -- what's the best thing about them?
What troubles you the most about them?
Have you discussed these concerns with your wife?
Are there other arrangements you'd prefer if they were possible?

5. Child-Rearing Attitudes.

a. I'd like to get some picture of discipline in your home for the children.
Do you have any rules for _____?
e.g. How about fighting with other kids?
Arguing or talking back to you?

How did you decide on these rules?
How are they usually enforced?
Who disciplines mostly -- you or your wife?
Are there some rules you and your wife disagree on?
Are the rules the same for the other kids?

Do you have any problems about discipline because of _____'s child-care?

b. What things do you like best about your wife's relationship with the kids?
What would you like her to do differently?
Do you discuss these things with her?
How do you think her working affects her relationship with the kids?

Are there things your wife would like you to do differently with the kids?
Do you ever talk about this with her?

c. What differences do you think there should be in bringing up boys and girls?
How does (would) this work in your own family?

What hopes do you have for your children to be? to do?
What do you worry most about in your children?
What things are you most proud of?

Who do you talk with about problems with the children
(Probe: physician
friends
relatives
neighbors
Who gives you the best advice?
About what things?
Who do you generally disagree with?
About what?
Do you ever read books or magazines about raising children?
What about this advice?

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6. Social Life.

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about your friends and your social life.

a. If you had to pick your five closest friends, who would they be?
About each one, tell me how you met them,
how long you've known them,
how often you see them,
what things you talk about with them.
Do they know each other?

What things do you do together?
Does your spouse know any of them very well?
Do you ever see him and his wife together with your wife?
Do you ever entertain friends of yours or your wife's from work?

Are there friends you have met as a couple?

b. How about relatives?

c. Would you say you have a lot of friends or a close group of friends?

d. Would you like to spend more time with friends?
What stops you?

e. What hobbies do you have?
What [illegible] do you belong to? Why?
[illegible]
Are you interested in belonging to other organizations?
Do you belong to any political organizations?
[illegible]
What do you think should be done about the energy crisis?

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f. Are there times when your social life and other responsibilities such as work or family conflict? How?
What do you do about it?

7. Family of Origin

I'd like to know a bit about the family you grew up in -- just some general background on your childhood.

a. How many times did you parents' family move while you lived with them?
Where did you live?
What kind of neighborhood and house?

What was your father like?
What kind of work did he do?

What was your mother like?
Did she work?
If yes, what kind of work?
How do you think your father felt about her working?

What was your parents' relationship like?
How did they divide up responsibilities at home?
What things did your family do together?

Would you say your parents spent a lot of time with relatives?
With friends?
Did they spend most of their time with the family?
Is this similar to the way your family is?

How did you get along with your brothers and sisters?
Did you have other playmates?
Other adults besides your parents you were close to?
Did any other adults help in bringing you up?
Prompt: grandparents, aunts, uncles, neighbors

What kinds of things did you do that your family encouraged?
What that they discouraged?
Did your parents have any plans for what they wanted you to be?

b. Did you help out in your family when you were young?
What chores did you have?
What kind of rules did your family have?
How were these decided on?
How did you feel about them then?
What happened if you broke a rule?

Did your parents consult a pediatrician?
Is that different from the way you use a pediatrician?

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c. What do you think was the best thing about your family?
What was the worst?

d. How is your family now different from the family you grew up in?
[illegible] your relationship with your wife?
How do you think you are compared to your parents' family?

What about the way you're raising your children -- how does it differ from your parents?
Are these things deliberate on your part? Why?
What things do you do the same as your parents? Why?

8. Family Ideology and Summary.

Now I want to end by asking some general questions about your opinions of family life.

a. What things are you especially proud of in your family?
What are the biggest problems?
What changes would you like to make in your own role as husband? as a father?
How about your wife -- what are her strengths and weaknesses?

b. In what ways are your children especially like you?
How are they different from you?
In what things would you like them to be more like you?
In what less like you?

c. How do you think the family has changed in the past generation or two?
How do you feel about these changes?
How do you see your own family in relation to this change?

How about your children -- how do you think their family life will differ from yours?
Would you like it to differ? How?

9. Are there things you'd like to add about your family that we haven't discussed -- things that will help us get a better picture of your lives?

And are there any questions you'd like to ask me?

JOINT INTERVIEW

Okay, I think we should begin. We've talked to each of you individually, trying to concentrate on things that concerned you separately. Now we'll try to focus on areas that generally involve both of you.

1. First, what houses or apartments have you lived in since you have been married? Please tell us what kind of housing you had and why you decided to move each time you moved. Also tell us in which house each child was born?
(At each move probe: did you still see friends from the place you lived before? In which places did you live near relatives? -- brothers, sisters, parents)

So you have lived here since _____?

What do you particularly like about this house? Is there anything you don't like?

What do you especially like about this location? Is there anything you don't like?

Would you say this is a safe neighborhood?
Can you walk out at night?
What about your children?
How has this changed over the past few years?
Has this affected your own lives?
Have you ever (often) lived in an unsafe place?
(Probe for incidents.)

Do you have plans to move soon -- or at some point? If so, what kind of place would you look for?

If you could change something about this house or this neighborhood, what would you change?

What do your children think about the house? About the neighborhood? Do they use any neighborhood facilities? Do they get along with the neighbors?

2. In the same way you talked about housing, tell us about child care arrangements for _____. What arrangements have you made for _____ since he/she was born? Babysitting, nursery school, or anything else.

a. How did you find out about _____?

Did you discuss this form of care with each other?

Did you discuss it with anyone else? (Prompt: relatives, friends, pediatrician) Did anyone volunteer advice?

Do any of your friends use this program? Have you made friends thru the program?

When you chose _____, what sorts of things did you think about?

(Probe: cost
location
transportation
how well adults involved were known
how well children and their families involved were known
how well established program is
institution program is connected with
special nature of child/child's reactions
size of program

If frequent changes in day care, how did child react?

b. How was _____ worked out?

How do you find out how well it works?

Do you participate in any way in the care program?

Would you like to have more to do with it? Less?

c. What is your relationship with the person who runs the program?

Do you discuss specific problems with them?

Have they ever brought problems to you? Have you ever brought problems to them? What happened?

d. What would you change about the program if you could?

If family does not use day care:

Have you ever visited a day care center or nursery school?
What do you think of day care? Nursery school?
Would you consider sending your child to one?
Why or why not?

3. What happens under unusual conditions? For instance, suppose your child is sick in the morning. What do you do?

Suppose you (wife)(husband) had to be in the hospital for two weeks, what would you do? Who would you ask to take care of your child?

If you had a choice, in an emergency would you rather turn to a relative or to a friend for help? (health, financial, need to talk to someone)

Are there times when you leave your children alone?

How does your child react when he/she is left with somebody else?

What happens when you go out shopping or to the laundry?

4. Parents usually have things they're especially worried about in their children and things they're especially proud of First, what things worry you about your children?

(Prompt: school achievement
getting along with other kids
temper tantrums
bed-wetting
reports from other adults
problems children tell you they have

Is this child more of a problem than others?

Do you discuss these problems with each other? Do you discuss them with other people?

(Prompt: friends
relatives
pediatrician
friends at work

What things are you especially proud of?

(Prompt: Has _____ ever done something very well or very kind or something cute or funny that you mention to others? Who do you mention it to?

5. We would like to get some idea about discipline for your children. Do you have any rules for _____?

   (Prompt: bedtime
   noise in the house
   amount of TV watching
   going out by themselves
   telling you where they're going
   talking back

   How did you come to this rule?

   Do you both usually agree about discipline?

   Have there been times you've disagreed?

   a. What happens when a rule is broken?

      Ask if appropriate: Do you agree/disagree on what to do?

   b. What are the children allowed to do on their own?

      What must they ask you about?

      What do they know they are not allowed to do?

   c. Do the children have chores around the house? What?

      Take _____ for instance. What are his/her chores? Did he/she have some before he doesn't have now? When did he/she start doing them? What happens if he/she neglects them?

      How did you decide those were his/her chores?

   d. We notice that you (wife) do the __(chore)__ around the house. Did you ever talk about who was to do that? Is it something you (husband) do occasionally?

      Is there a reason you've divided things up the way you have?

      (Prompt: preferences (sex-typed or not)
      abilities (sex-typed or not)
      time commitments

6. We'd like to krow something more about your social life. What sorts of things do you do as a family? What things do just the two of you do? What things do you do alone or with other people?

(Probe: reading
recreation
hobbies
television -- what do you usually watch?
are there rules about TV?
sacred hours for family or for couple (dinner)
vacations

Do you watch much television?
What T.V. shows do you watch regularly?
What do you like about _____ show?
Are there any families or characters on T.V. you especially like?

a. Tell us more about vacations. Do you ever (go by yourselves) (take the kids along)? If you leave the children, where do you leave them?

A pleasant thought: what would you like to do on your next vacation?

Have you had to juggle your work schedules to take vacations together?

b. How often do you see people? For instance, how often do you see husband's family?

wife's family
neighbors
wife's friends
husband's friends
joint friends

Do you often have company to your house?

What do you do (where do you go) on Thanksgiving? Christmas? Easter?

c. Who do your children play with?
Do you know their parents?
Are there places where your children stay over night or take naps, other than your home?

7. We're getting near the end of the interview, but we hope you'll enjoy these last questions. Now we want to ask not so much about what you do but about what you think about things.

   a. Do you ever think about what kinds of adults you would like your children to be?

      In what ways are the kids different from you? From each other?

      In what ways would you like them to be more like you (or your spouse)? Less like you (or your spouse)?

   b. How do you think the family in general has changed in the past generation or two? How do you think your family differs from those you grew up in or from your grandparents?

   c. What do you think the problems are in your family -- and what things about your family are you especially proud of?

   d. In what ways is your family different from other families you know?

      Is there a family whose childrearing you like?

      Is there a family whose childrearing you don't like?

   e. What things would you like to change in your family life?

   f. How do you picture yourselves and your family in, say, 10 years? What will be the same or different? Better or worse? Will you both still be working? Do you think about that very much?

   g. How do you think your son's or daughter's family will differ from yours? How would you like it to be the same or different?

8. We've asked a lot of questions. But maybe we haven't asked the right ones. If there's something important you'd like to tell us about your work or family or ideas you have, tell us now.

   And if you have any questions for us, please ask.

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DAILY LOG

We would like parents in each family we study to fill out the enclosed daily log form. There is one page for each day of the week. Each time one of you leaves the house, one line of the page should be filled out. If this is inconvenient you don't need to note down each trip at the time you make it. It might be easier to spend a few minutes at the end of each day filling out the day's activities.

We would also like you to note down the phone calls you remember making and receiving.

Please only write the first names of people you list.

The next page is a sample sheet, showing how a day's sheet might be filled out. This is followed by seven blank pages, one for each day of the week.

Day and Date: /

Each time you left the house:

Time you left	Where you left	Where You Went	Who You Saw When You Got There Or On The Way	About How Long You Were Gone

Each time someone visited:

Time of Day	Who Visited	What They Did	Approximately How Long They Stayed
early afternoon			

Each time you used the phone:

Time of Day	Who Telephoned

Time of Day	Who Did You Telephone

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Each time you left the house:

Time of Day You Left	Where You Went	Who You Saw When You Were There Or On The Way	Approximately How Long You Were Gone

Each time someone visited:

Time of Day	Who Visited	What They Did	Approximately How Long They Stayed

Each time you used the phone:

Time of Day	Who Telephoned	Time of Day	Who Did You Telephone

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APPENDIX C

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF PUBLIC POLICY
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Background Information Form
(Wife copy)

Name:

Date of birth:

Place of birth:

Citzenship: _____ U.S. _____ Other

Religion: _____ Protestant _____ Catholic

_____ Jewish _____ Other

Cultural heritage:

Place of Employment:

Work address:

Work phone:

Current work schedule:

Highest grade in school completed:

Parents:

Wife's father

Age _____ If deceased, year of death _____

Place of birth:

Citizenship: _____ U.S. _____ Other

City now living in:

Occupation:

If he is retired, age at retirement:

Highest grade in school completed:

Religion: _____ Protestant _____ Catholic

_____ Jewish _____ Other

Wife's mother

Age _____ If deceased, year of death _____

Place of birth:

Citizenship: _____ U.S. _____ Other

City now living in:

Occuptation:

If she is retired, age at retirement:

Highest grade in school completed:

Check the item which best describes your mother's work history. Indicate full (F) or part-time (P) work:

_____ Never worked

_____ Worked only before marriage

_____ Worked after marriage and before children

_____ Worked after marriage and children but at home or for husband

_____ Worked majority of the time before and after marriage and through most of child-rearing period

Is still working? _____ Yes _____ No

Religion: _____ Protestant _____ Catholic

_____ Jewish _____ Other

Wife's brothers and sisters

Please list from oldest to youngest:

First name	Age	Present residence (city and state)	Marital status M-Married D-Divorced or separated S-Single	Number of children	Occupation	Occupation of spouse	Highest grade in school completed

Children

Please list from oldest to youngest:

Name	Date of birth	Sex (M/F)	Place of birth ("Mass" or "Other")	Major illnesses (a week or more in hospital or 3 weeks out of school)		Year in school	Schools: List schools and grades attended beginning with nursery school to current school
				Illness	Age it occured		

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Background Information Form
(Husband copy)

Name:

Date of birth:

Place of birth:

Citzenship: _____ U.S. _____ Other

Religion: _____ Protestant _____ Catholic

_____ Jewish _____ Other

Cultural heritage:

Place of employment:

Work address:

Work phone:

Current work schedule:

Highest grade in school completed:

Parents:

Husband's father

Age _____ If deceased, year of death _____

Place of birth:

Citizenship: _____ U.S. _____ Other

City now living in:

Occupation:

If he is retired, age at retirement:

Highest grade in school completed:

Religion: _____ Protestant _____ Catholic

_____ Jewish _____ Other

Husband's mother

Age _____ If deceased, year of death _____

Place of birth:

Citizenship: _____ U.S. _____ Other

City now living in:

Occupation:

If she is retired, age at retirement:

Highest grade in school completed:

Check the item which best describes your mother's work history. Indicate full (F) or part-time (P) work:

_____ Never worked

_____ Worked only before marriage

_____ Worked after marriage and before children

_____ Worked after marriage and children but at home or for husband

_____ Worked majority of the time before and after marriage and through most of child-rearing period

Is still working? _____ Yes _____ No

Religion: _____ Protestant _____ Catholic

_____ Jewish _____ Other

Husband's brothers and sisters

Please list from oldest to youngest:

First name	Age	Present residence (city and state)	Marital status M-Married D-Divorced or Seperated S-Single	Number of children	Occupation	Occupation of spouse	Highest grade in school completed

HOUSEKEEPING CHECKLIST

Who is Responsible?

Housekeeping Tasks:	Husband (always or usually)	Husband and Wife (usually shared)	Wife (always or usually)	Children (usually)	Each Person does their own	Relative	Hired Help	Nobody
Cleans oven and refrigerator								
Washing dishes								
Drying dishes								
Making beds								
Changing beds								
Preparing breakfast								
Preparing lunch								
Preparing supper								
Washing floors								
Doing laundry								
Cleaning bathroom								
Ironing								
Vacuuming								
Setting table								
Washing windows								
Taking out the garbage								
Shopping for children's clothes								
Shopping for adult's clothes								
Clothes to cleaners								
Feeding and grooming pets								
Grocery shopping								
Repair and Yard Work:								
Repair work								
Gardening								
Mowing and other yard work								
Financial Tasks:								
Keeping track of the money								
Paying the monthly bills								
Figuring income tax								

CHILD CARE CHECKLIST

Child's Name:

Who Is Responsible?

Regular Child Care Tasks:	Husband (always or usually)	Husband and Wife (usually shared)	Wife (always or usually)	Older Child for Younger Child	Child for Himself	Relative	Hired Help	Nobody
Awakening child								
Dressing child								
Child's breakfast								
Child's lunch								
Child's supper								
Diapers (if infant)								
Bathing child								
Putting child to bed								
Caring for child's clothes								
Providing spending money								
Meeting child after school								
Driving child to school and/or other activities								
Checking whether child performs his chores								
Keeping track of where child is								
Other Tasks:								
Doctor/Dentist appointments								
Stay home with sick child								
Clothes shopping								
Shopping for toys/playthings								
Shopping for school supplies								

FAMILY FINANCES

Some families feel that finances are a particularly private area. Please do not answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable.

1. About how much money would it take for a family to live comfortably in this area?

_____

2. Husband's income: Circle correct category

	Wife's income:
0 - 2,000	0-2,000
2,000 - 4,000	2,000-4,000
4,000 - 6,000	4,000-6,000
6,000 - 9,000	6,000-9,000
9,000 - 12,000	9,000-12,000
12,000 - 16,000	12,000-16,000
over 16,000	over 16,000

3. Do you own a car? no car 1 car 2 cars 3 cars

4. If you rent your house, what is your monthly rent?

0 - 100
100 - 200
200 - 300
300 - 400
over 400

Does this include utilities? _____

If you own a house, what does it cost to keep it up?

0 - 100
100 - 200
200 - 300
300 - 400
over 400

5. Do you have a savings account?

0 - 100
100 - 1000
1000 - 5000
over 5000

Are you saving for any particular purpose? _____

6. Do you have:

_____ health insurance
_____ house insurance
_____ life insurance

7. What installment-buying purchases are you making payments on?

_____ car
_____ house
_____ washer/dryer
_____ furniture
_____ payments on outstanding bills or investments
_____ dishwasher
_____ television
_____ refrigerator

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Observation Instructions (Draft)

1. Number of Observations

   a. In each family there will be three one-to-two hour long observations.

   b. There will be several shorter observations if inconsistencies or wide variation during the longer observations warrants.

   c. In each family at least one long observation will be made on the oldest pre-school child in an outside-the-home care setting or while the child is in the care of someone other than his parents, if this happens regularly.

2. When to Observe

   a. In each family long observations will be made when parents and children are at home and likely to be interacting.

      (1) The observations will be arranged so that over the three observations, the child will be observed with both parents and with each parent alone.

      (2) Possible observation times:

         (a) Morning through breakfast

         (b) Supper until bedtime

         (c) Saturday morning

         (d) Sunday evening

   b. Shorter observations would be twenty to forty minutes in length. These observations may be taken during the same part of the day as the longer observations.

   c. Observations of children at day care will usually occur during periods pinpointed by personnel as allowing for most interaction.

3. Everyone concerned must be urged to pay as little attention as possible to the observor. They should do whatever they usually do at that time of day.
4. At the child care place outside the home comments should be solicited concerning:
   a. Philosophy of care program:
      (1) What is the main function of the work being done?
      (2) What are the strong points of the program?
      (3) What are its weaknesses?
   b. How does _____ (child being observed) react to the program?
      (1) Are there any noticeable behavior problems?
      (2) What are his particular strong points?
5. Observations will emphasize socio-linguistic interaction. The notes taken while the observation is going on will be made in any short hand and including any abreviations desired by the observor. No tape recorders will be used, unless a special situation suggests it.
6. The heading of the observation will include:
   a. Name of family observed.
   b. Date family observed.
   c. Identity symbol attached to each family member.
   d. Time observation begins and ends.
   e. Description of setting of observation; who is present.
   f. Who is doing observing.

   This heading might look like this:

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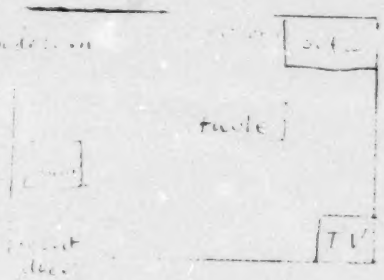
Brown Family
August 24, 1973
Mother - M
Father - F
Ruth - R
Sarah - S
Bill - B
Observation: 5:30 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.
Observor: Lein

Family is gathered in living room of the house watching television. Downstairs are the living room, dining room, kitchen and a bath. Upstairs are three bedrooms and a bath. Ruth and Sarah share a bedroom.

Living Room:



7. The observation will center on sociolinguistic interaction. All verbal communication between target child and other family members will be recorded. Acts/ activities performed in isolation will not be described in a minute-by-minute fashion. However the beginning and end of such activities will be noted and a brief description included. For example,

R goes to blocks in her bedroom and sits down to play with them.

R returns to living room and climbs on F's lap.

R pulls on F's arm.

8. A running time account will be kept in the margin of the observation. This might look as follows:

8:02 R goes to blocks in her bedroom and sits down to play with them.

M to F: Shouldn't S be in bed now?

F to M: Let them stay up until the end of the show (TV).

B to M: I get to stay up too.

S calls from bedroom: No, he doesn't.

8:05 S returns to living room and climbs on mother's lap.

9. Body contact between family members and gesture should be noted as well as verbal communication. For example, the acts described below would be included in an observation:

M nods "no" at B.

S slaps B.

F throws B up in the air.

10. If the family splits up to go to different rooms and do different activities, follow the oldest pre-school child. If he goes off by himself, observe him at least long enough to ascertain what he is doing and his attitude. Then follow the next oldest pre-school child, if available.

11. Interaction between parent and child will be noted down word for word as often as possible, particularly when it involves:

a. Conflict.

b. Negotiation/Implementation of rules.

c. Parent praise, criticism, reward or punishment of child.

d. Child request of parent.

e. Apparent demonstration of desire for attention, affection.

12. In the event all members of the family are alone, the oldest pre-school child's isolated activity will be the focus of the observation.

13. After each observation two products should be be written:

a. A full-length, type-written report of the observation including time column, person involved, action and comments:

Time	Actor	Acted On	Act	Comment
5:30	M	S	"Pick up your toys before P comes home."	
	M		Points to toys on floor.	
	S	M	"That's too hard."	Whiney voice

b. A brief statement of general reactions and interpretations by the observor.

Project: Working Families and Child Rearing

This research project, "Working Families and Child Rearing" will focus on how families where both parents work raise their children. More and more families raise children while both parents are working. We want to learn how these families manage their home, work, and child-rearing responsibilities. We want to know how the ways parents raise their children are related to their employment, thir relations with friends, relatives, and neighbors, and their attitudes about work and family life. We hope, finally, that the information we gather will help other working families find better ways to manage their time and raise their children.

We will study about thirty families in different communities around Boston using different ways to care for their children. In each family we would like to interview both the mother and thefather and then talk to both parents together. Each interview will take about an hour and a half. In addition, we would like to interview the children. These interviews will, of course, be shorter.

We want to learn about the families we study in other ways as well. One member of the research group will observe the children both in the home and in other settings such as a day care center, a neighbor's home, or a playground. Each child will be observed several times in each setting. Observations will be not more than one hour. Also, a project member will visit the home for several hours when most of the family is present and around the house. In addition, with the family's permission, a project member may visit some

of the community organizations related to child care in which family members participate.

The family will be asked to fill out a questionnaire of basic information (on family background, education of parents, religion, and so forth). Parents will also be asked to fill out a "daily log sheet" which tells how the parents spend their time during the day. This would take a few minutes each day, for ten days.

The project has allotted money to give each family thirty dollars as "thanks" for helping with the research.

As we work on our final report, we will submit drafts of what we write to each family so that: (1) suggestions and new interpretations offered by family members may be incorporated in our report; (2) family members may veto anything we have written about them they do not want published. Our report, of course, will not mention families by name and will "scramble" other facts about them, so they cannot be identified.

Even after a family has agreed to participate in the project, they are free to withdraw at any time. We hope family members will feel free at all times to discuss any difficulties caused by the project with us.

Later in the year, five or six families will be asked to participate in a more intensive study which would involve day-long observations by a project members. Participation in the first part of the study described above in no way obligates you to participate in the later phase. The project

will pay families additional money for participation in the later phase.

The project is sponsored by the Center for the Study of Public Policy. The Center is a small, independent research institute organized by Harvard University faculty. The project is funded by a grant from the National Institute of Education (Grant NE-G-00-3-0065), an agency of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

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PEOPLE EMPLOYED ON THE PROJECT

"WORKING FAMILIES AND CHILD REARING"

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Six people employed by this project will be making home visits. Heather Weiss, Mike Schudson and Mike Pratt are responsible for the interviews. Mickey Durham and Ron Thomas are responsible for the observations. Laura Lein heads the project. Each family will only meet three or four of these people.

Heather Weiss, 27, is a graduate student in education and social policy at Harvard. She lives in Quincy House where she and her husband are resident tutors at Harvard College. Her husband is an historian and is finishing his dissertation. She comes from South Amherst, Mass. and has lived in Cambridge since 1967. Her father was a personnel consultant and designer in the leather goods industry and her mother was employed at the information desk at the University of Massachusetts before they both retired. She has two sisters, one a student at the University of California and the other a buyer in a Washington, D.C. department store. Heather is currently working on a paper on the determinants of women's labor force participation and teaching a course on women and education, as well as serving on the editoral board of the Harvard Educational Review. She plans to teach and continue to do research in the areas of women and work, education, and the family. Her hobbies include sewing and crafts, refinishing furniture, reading, gardening and playing squash.

Michael Schudson, 26, is a graduate student in sociology at Harvard University. He comes from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and has lived for the past four years in Cambridge. His father runs a wholesale sporting goods business and Mike worked summers in the mailroom, warehouse, and office. His mother was a housewife. One of his brothers is a singer and songwriter and the other is a law student. Mike has served as an editor at the Harvard Educational Review. He hopes to write, edit, and teach. He enjoys reading, American history, playing tennis, and playing guitar.

Mike Dratt, age 28, is a student at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Mike is married and the father of one child, a twenty-month-old daughter. Mike was born in Flint, Michigan, and grew up near there on a small dairy farm. Summers and after school were spent helping his father on the farm. He attended the University of Michigan and received his degree from there in 1967 in psychology. Mike was a VISTA worker in the mountains of Kentucky and North Carolina. He subsequently worked as a social worker at Fernald State School in Waltham, Massachusetts for two years before starting school at Harvard. His hobbies include tennis and singing, both of which he admits to doing medium badly.

Mickey (Maureen) Durham, 27, is working for her Ph.D. at the University of Chicago in Human Development and Clinical Psychology. She attended Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania. For the past two years she has been in psychology training at the Cambridge Guidance Center, Beth Israel Hospital, and the South Shore Mental Health Center in Quincy. Mickey was born and spent most of her school years in Fairfield, Connecticut, but also traveled a good deal, living in Wyoming, Texas, Salzburg, Austria, and Memphis, Tennessee, when her father was in the Army. Her mother was a feature columnist for a Connecticut newspaper and had a daily radio program discussing topics of public interest. Her father is a lawyer for the government. She has one eleven-year-old brother. Mickey has worked as a waitress, Avon saleswoman, substitute teacher and secretary. This is Mickey's third year in the Boston area. She now lives in Arlington and has a miniature collie dog. She is interested in hiking, bicycling, folk dancing, poetry, music, knitting, and fixing cars.

Ron Thomas, 26, is a graduate student in social anthropology at Harvard. His father is an engineer with Bell Labs. His mother works part-time as a dentist's assistant. He has a younger brother who works with the YMCA. Ron's family moved several times while he was growing up -- he has lived in the Northeast, South, Southwest and West. After two years in Cambridge, he admits to a special fondness for New England autumns. From 1969-1971 Ron lived and worked in Eastern Europe under the auspices of the World Council of Churches. This fall he begins his second year as a tutor and teaching fellow at Harvard. Ron enjoys tennis, bicycling and music.

Laura Lein, age 26, has just completed her graduate work in social anthropology at Harvard University. She was raised in Evanston, Illinois where her mother was a secretary and her father taught at a medical school. Laura worked summers in a medical clinic while she was going to college. She hopes to continue doing research on children and families in America. She enjoys folk dancing, playing the organ, fencing, drawing, and playing with her dog.

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Informed Consent Document

Project: Working Families and Child Rearing

I understand that participation in this observational and interview study of the family is entirely at my discretion, and that I may stop participating at any time I choose. I also understand that any audio records made are solely for research purposes, and may not be used for any other purpose without my prior written consent.

_____ _____

Signature(s) of resident adult(s) Date

_____ _____

Coding Topics

1. Child Care
2. Day Care and School
3. Family Relations with Media and Mass Culture
4. Family Economic Status
5. Couple and Family History
6. Views of Family Life
7. Network: Kin
8. Network: Non-Kin
9. Emotional Styles of Parenting
10. Mother's Work and Education
11. Father's Work and Education
12. Family Interaction
13. Views of Each Child
14. Spouse Relations